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M. TULLI CICERONIS

CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE

LAELIUS DE AMICITIA

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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American Edition Revised

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PREFACE.

THREE years ago Mr. James S. Reid, of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, prepared for the Syndics of the University Press editions of Cicero's *Cato Maior de Senectute* and *Laelius de Amicitia*. The thorough and accurate scholarship displayed, especially in the elucidation of the Latinity, immediately won for the books a cordial reception; and since then they have gained a permanent place in the esteem of English scholars.

The present volume has the full authorization of Mr. Reid, and was prepared with the design of presenting to American students, in a form best adapted to their use, the results of his work. The Text remains substantially that of Mr. Reid; while mention is made in the notes of the most important variations in readings and orthography from other editions. The Introductions have been recast, with some enlargement; the analyses of the subject-matter in particular have been entirely remodelled. The Notes have been in some instances reduced, in others amplified, — especially by the addition of references to the standard treatises on grammar, history, and philosophy. It was at first the intention of the American editor to

indicate by some mark the matter due to himself; but as this could hardly be done without marring the appearance of the page, and thus introducing a source of confusion to the student, it was not attempted. In the work of revision free use of the principal German and English editions has been made.

To some the notes of the present edition may appear too copious. The aim throughout, however, has been not simply to give aid on difficult points, but to call attention to the finer usages of the Latin, and to add also whatever explanation seemed necessary to a clear understanding of the subject-matter. Latin scholarship which shall be at the same time broad and accurate, including not only a mastery of the language but also a comprehensive view of the various phases of Roman life and thought, will, it is believed, be best assured by the slow and careful reading of some portions of the literature and by the rapid survey of others. Certainly of the shorter Latin classics few would more fully repay close and careful study of both language and thought than these charming colloquies on Old Age and Friendship. While almost faultless in expression, they embody in a remarkable degree that universal element which characterizes the literary masterpiece, and makes it the valued possession not merely of an age or a nation, but of all time.

FRANCIS W. KELSEY.

LAKE FOREST, ILL., May, 1882.

CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE

INTRODUCTION.

I. CICERO AS A WRITER ON PHILOSOPHY.

(i.) State of Philosophy in Cicero's Time.

In Philosophy the Romans originated nothing. Their energies in the earlier years of the state were wholly absorbed in organization and conquest. Resting in a stern and simple creed, they had little speculative interest in matters outside the hard routine of their daily life. But with the close of the Period of Conquest came a change. The influx of wealth from conquered provinces, the formation of large landed estates, the excessive employment of slave labor, and the consequent rise of a new aristocracy, prepared the way for a great revolution. The old religion lost its hold on the higher classes; something was needed to take its place. With wealth and luxury came opportunity and desire for culture. Greece, with Art, Literature, and Philosophy fully developed and highly perfected, stood ready to instruct her rude conqueror.[1]

In Cicero's time the productive era of Greek Philosophy had well-nigh passed. Its tendency was less speculative, more ethical and practical than in the earlier time. There were four prominent schools, the New Academy, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean. The supporters of the last-named advocated in Science the doctrine of the atom, in Ethics the pursuit of pleasure, in Religion the complete inactivity of the gods.

[1] Horace, Ep. 2, 1, 156:—

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.

The Stoics and Peripatetics were divided by comparatively unimportant differences. In Ethics, considered by them as almost the whole of Philosophy, which was itself defined as 'the art of living', the main question between the two schools was the amount of importance to be attributed to Virtue, — the Stoics declaring that in comparison with Virtue all other things sink into absolute insignificance, while the Peripatetics maintained that these have a certain though infinitesimally small significance. The New Academy taught at this time no complete philosophical system. It simply proclaimed the view that in the field of knowledge certainty is unattainable, and that all the inquirer has to do is to balance probabilities one against the other. The New Academic, therefore, was free to accept any opinions which seemed to him to have the weight of probability on their side, but he was bound to be ready to abandon them when anything appeared which altered his views of the probabilities. He not only might be, but he could not help being, *eclectic*; that is, he chose such views promulgated by other schools as seemed to him at the moment to be most reasonable or probable. Cicero called himself an adherent of this school. On most points however, although eclectic, he agreed with the Peripatetics, but with a decided leaning toward the Stoic ethical system. The Stoic opinion that it is the duty of the wise man to abstain from public life, which the Peripatetics contested, Cicero decisively rejected. With the Epicureans he had absolutely no sympathy. Up to this time these schools and their teachings were known to the Romans only through the medium of the Greek. The only Latin philosophical literature was Epicurean, and, excepting the poem of Lucretius (*De Rerum Natura*), scarcely famous as yet, consisted entirely of books rudely written, although considerably read.

(ii.) The Mission of Cicero in Philosophy.

Cicero made no claim to originality as a philosopher, nor even to complete acquaintance with every detail of the Greek systems.[1]

[1] De Off. 1, 1, 2: *philosophandi scientiam concedens multis* etc.

In early life he had studied with enthusiasm and success all the learning of the Greeks, but especially in the two departments of Rhetoric and Philosophy, then closely connected, or rather hardly distinguished. He not only sought the society of learned Greeks, but spent considerable time in study at Rhodes and Athens, which had become not merely the 'school of Greece', as Thucydides makes Pericles call her, but the school of the civilized world.[1]. When, by reason of political troubles, he was forced to retire to private life, he began to carry out a great plan for interpreting the best philosophical writings of the Greeks to his fellow-countrymen. For this work his liberal views as a New Academic peculiarly fitted him. His usual method was to take one or two leading Greek works on the subject with which he was dealing, and to represent freely in his own language their subject-matter, introducing episodes and illustrations of his own. He thus presented to the Romans in their own tongue the most significant portions of the Greek Philosophy; and in his writings there has come down to us much, especially of the Post-Aristotelian Philosophy, that was doomed to oblivion in the original Greek. But further than this, to Cicero more than to any other Roman is due the formation of a Latin philosophical vocabulary, by which the language was enriched and fitted for the part it has since taken as the Language of the Learned. While on many points Cicero's own views can hardly be determined with perfect exactness, the exalted sentiments and the exquisite literary finish of his philosophical writings have always won admiration; and through them he has exerted no small influence on the literature and life of modern times.[2]

[1] To judge rightly of Cicero it must be remembered that he was a politician only by accident: his whole natural bent was towards literature.

[2] To see the truth of this it is only necessary to refer for example to the weight given to the opinions of Cicero in the heated political discussions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

(iii.) The Philosophical Writings of Cicero.

During the whole of an exceptionally busy public life Cicero devoted his spare moments to reading and to the society of the learned. After his exile in 58 and 57 B. C. his political career, except for a brief period just before his death, was over, and it is at this time that his period of great literary activity begins. In 55 he produced the work *De Oratore*, in 54 the *De Re Publica*, and in 52 the *De Legibus*, all three works, according to ancient ideas, entitled to rank as philosophical.[1]

From 51 to 46 B. C., owing first to his absence in Cilicia, then to the civil troubles, Cicero almost ceased to write. But in the latter year he was reconciled with Caesar, and as the Senate and law courts were closed against him on his refusal to compromise his political principles, he betook himself with greater devotion than ever to literature. The first work written in 46 was the *Hortensius*, or *De Philosophia*, now lost. It was founded on a lost dialogue of Aristotle, and set forth the advantages of studying Philosophy. During the same year Cicero completed several oratorical works, the *Partitiones Oratoriae*, the *Brutus*, or *De Claris Oratoribus*, and the *Orator*, all of which are extant.

Early in 45 Cicero lost his beloved daughter Tullia. He passed the whole year in retirement, trying to soothe his grief by incessant writing. In quick succession appeared

De Consolatione, an attempt to apply philosophy to the mitigation of his own sorrow and that of others;

Academica, an exposition of the New Academic Philosophy, advocating probability rather than certainty as the foundation of philosophy;

De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum, a work criticising the most prominent views entertained concerning Ethics;

Disputationes Tusculanae, treating of certain conditions essential to morality and happiness;

[1] Almost every branch of learning was ranked under the head of Philosophy. Strabo even claimed that one branch of Philosophy was Geography.

De Natura Deorum, an examination of the principal theories regarding the nature and power of the gods,

Cato Maior, on old age; *Laelius*, on friendship;

De Fato, discussing Fate and Free Will;

Paradoxa, a book setting forth certain remarkable views of the Stoics;

De Officiis, a treatise on practical ethics, the application of moral principles to the questions and difficulties of ordinary life.

These works, written mostly in 45 and 44, are, except the *De Cons.*, still extant. To the list may be added also other works of a rhetorical nature, such as the *Topica* and *De Optimo Genere Dicendi*, and some lost philosophical books, such as *De Gloria*

Even though allowance be made for the fact that Cicero was giving in Latin the substance of Greek books with which he had been familiar from boyhood, the mental vigor and literary power exhibited by this series of works appear prodigious when we consider their great compass and variety and the generally high finish of their style.

References. — For a fuller account of Cicero's philosophical views and writings consult Ritter, 'History of Ancient Philosophy', Vol. 4. Ch 2; Maurice, 'Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy', Ch 7, § 5; Tennemann and Morell, 'History of Philosophy', Ch 3 Ueberweg, 'History of Philosophy', Vol 1, § 61; J. B. Mayor, 'Sketch of Ancient Philosophy', pp. 223–244; Teuffel, 'History of Roman Literature', Vol. 1, § 172 *et seq.*; Cruttwell, 'History of Roman Literature', Bk. II. Part 1, Ch. 2; 'Cicero', by Collins, in Ancient Classics for English Readers, Ch. 10, *et seq.*, also the Introduction to Reid's edition of the *Academica*, and the account of Cicero by Prof. Ramsay in Smith's Dictionary of Biography and Mythology. The most attractive biography of Cicero in English is that by Forsyth. That by Trollope is able but quite partisan. On the philosophy, consult also Zeller's 'Eclectics.'

II. THE CATO MAIOR.

(i.) Origin and Scope.

1. *Date and Circumstances of Composition.*

The date at which the Cato Maior was written can be determined with almost perfect exactness. A mention in Cicero's work entitled *De Divinatione*[1] shows that the Cato Maior preceded that work by a short time. The *De Divinatione* was written after the assassination of Caesar, that is, after the 15th of March in the year 44.[2] Again, the Cato Maior is mentioned as a recent work in three letters addressed by Cicero to Atticus.[3] The earliest of these letters was written on or about the 12th of May, 44.[4] We shall hardly err, therefore, if we assume that Cicero composed the Cato Maior in April of the year 44.[5] This agrees also with slight indications in the work itself. In the dedicatory introduction Cicero speaks of troubles weighing heavily on himself and Atticus.[6] Any one who reads the letters to Atticus despatched in April, 44, will have little doubt that the troubles hinted at are the apprehensions as to the course of Antonius, from whom Cicero had personally something to fear. Atticus was using all the influence he could bring to bear on Antonius in order to secure Cicero's safety;

[1] 2, 3 *interiectus est nuper liber is quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus.* No argument can be founded on the words *interiectus est*, over which the editors have wasted much ingenuity. They simply mean 'there was inserted in the series of my works'.

[2] See 2, 23.

[3] 14, 21, 3; 16, 3, 1; 16, 11, 3.

[4] See Att. 14, 21, 1.

[5] It was certainly not written, as Sommerbrodt assumes, in the intervals of composing the De Divinatione. The words in 2, 7 of that work — *quoniam de re publica consuli coepti sumus* etc. — point to the end of September or beginning of October, 44, when Cicero returned to Rome and began to compose his Philippic orations.

[6] § 1.

hence Cicero's care to avoid in the dedication all but the vaguest possible allusions to politics. Had that introduction been written before Caesar's death, we should have had plain allusions (as in the prooemia of the *Academica*, the *De Finibus*, the *Tusculan Disputations*, and the *De Natura Deorum*) to Caesar's dictatorship.[1]

The time was one of desperate gloom for Cicero. The downfall of the old constitution had overwhelmed him with sorrow, and his brief outburst of joy over Caesar's death had been quickly succeeded by disgust and alarm at the proceedings of Antonius. The deep wound caused by his daughter's death[2] was still unhealed. It is easy to catch in the Cato Maior some echoes of his grief for her. When it is said that of all Cato's titles to admiration none is higher than the fortitude he showed in bearing the death of his son,[3] the writer is thinking of the struggle he himself had been waging against a like sorrow for more than a year past; and when Cato expresses his firm conviction that he will meet his child beyond the grave,[4] we can see Cicero's own yearning for reunion with his deeply loved Tullia.

2. *Greek Sources.*

All Cicero's philosophical and rhetorical writings were confessedly founded more or less on Greek originals.[5] The stores from which he principally drew in writing the Cato Maior are clearly indicated in several parts of the work. Passages from Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* are translated in Chapters 17 and 22. In Chapters 2 and 3 there is a close imitation of the conversation between Socrates and Cephalus at the beginning of Plato's *Republic*, while in Chapter 21 is reproduced one of the most

[1] It is perhaps not a mere accident that the prowess of L. Brutus *in liberanda patria* is mentioned in § 75. There may be a reference to the latest Brutus who had freed his country.

[2] In March, 45.

[3] § 12.

[4] § 84.

[5] See p. iii. above.

striking portions of the *Phaedo*, 72 E–73 B, 78–80.[1] The view of the divine origin and destiny of the human soul contained in the passage from the *Phaedo* is rendered by Cicero in many of his works,[2] and was held by him with quite a religious fervor and sincerity.

Besides these instances of special indebtedness Cicero, in composing the Cato Maior, was no doubt under obligations of a more general kind to the Greeks. The form of the dialogue is Greek, and Aristotelian rather than Platonic.[3] But further, it is highly probable that Cicero owed to some particular Greek dialogue on Old Age the general outline of the arguments he there brings forward. Many of the Greek illustrative allusions may have had the same origin, though in many cases Roman illustrations must have been substituted for Greek. Whether the dialogue by Aristo Cius, cursorily mentioned in the Cato Maior,[4] was at all used by Cicero or not it is impossible to determine.[5]

3. *Purpose.*

The Cato Maior is a popular essay in Ethics, applying the principles of philosophy to the alleviation of one of life's chief burdens, old age. In ancient times, when philosophy formed the real and only religion of the educated class, themes like this were deemed to afford a worthy employment for the pens even of the greatest philosophers. Such essays formed the only substitute the ancients had for our Sermons. There can be no doubt of Cicero's sincerity when he says that the arguments he sets

[1] In the notes exact references will be given to the places in the original where the other passages mentioned may be found.

[2] Particularly the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations*, the *De Republica*, and the *Laelius*.

[3] See 4, below.

[4] § 3.

[5] Works on Old Age are said to have been written by Theophrastus and Demetrius Phalereus, either or both of which Cicero might have used. One passage in § 67, *facilius in morbos ... tristius curantur*, is supposed by many to have been imitated from Hippocrates; but the resemblance is probably accidental. Cf. De Off. I, 24, 83.

forth in the treatise had given him real comfort,[1] and the opening words of the dedication show that he meant and hoped to administer the same comfort to his friend Atticus, who indeed acknowledged the benefit he derived from the work.[2] When Cicero wrote the treatise he was himself sixty-two years of age, while his friend was three years older. He speaks, therefore, rather euphemistically when he says that his purpose is to lighten the trouble of an old age which is already close at hand, or at all events approaching.[3]

But in addition to the main ethical purpose, there was, as in many of Cicero's works, a distinct political purpose. He desired to stimulate in his readers an admiration for what he regarded as the golden age of Roman politics, the era of the Punic wars, and to do this by making the contrast between that age and his own appear as striking as possible. A like double purpose is apparent throughout the *De Re Publica*, where Africanus the younger is the chief personage, and in the treatise on Friendship, where Laelius is the central figure. For the dialogue on Old Age M. Porcius Cato the Censor is selected as the principal speaker for two reasons: first, because he was renowned for the vigor of mind and body he displayed in advanced life;[4] and secondly, because in him were conspicuously exhibited the serious simplicity, the unswerving adherence to principle, and the self-sacrificing patriotism which were the ideal Roman virtues, and which Cicero could not find among the politicians of his time.

4. *Form and Language.*

The Cato Maior, like most of Cicero's philosophical writings, is cast in the form of a dialogue. Among the ancients the dia-

[1] See § 2.

[2] See Att. 16, 11, 3; 16, 3, 1; 14, 21, 3.

[3] § 2.

[4] As Cicero's intention was to set old age in a favorable light, he slights Aristo Cius for giving to Tithonus the chief part in a dialogue on old age. See § 3; cf. also Laelius, § 4.

logue was a common rhetorical device, especially in the presentation of abstruse subjects. The introduction of characters to conduct the discussion gave vividness and clearness to the unfolding of the argument, as well as a kind of dramatic interest to the production. In the Cato Maior[1] and the Laelius, as generally, Cicero followed the plan of Aristotle's dialogues (now lost) rather than that of the dialogues of Plato. In the former there was more of exposition and less of discussion than in the latter; one person stated his views on some question, and the company in attendance only made occasional remarks without attempting to debate the question. In the latter, although one person, Socrates, is everywhere prominent, others are continually drawn into the discussions, and there is a quick interchange of question and answer. The Aristotelian form was better adapted to Cicero's purposes than the Platonic; the progress of the argument was less interrupted, and thus better opportunity for a symmetrical development of the theme was afforded. Then, too, the former was more popular. The style of Aristotle[2] had been imitated by Theophrastus and many other writers down to Cicero's time, while that of Plato had found hardly any imitators.

The editors of the Cato Maior have generally assumed that Cicero attempted to give an antique coloring to the diction of the dialogue in order to remind readers of Cato's own style. It is only necessary to read a page or two of Cato's *De Re Rustica* to have this illusion dispelled. The only things actually alleged to be archaisms are (1) the use of deponent participles as passives in §§ 4, 59, 74, a thing common enough in Cicero; (2) the occurrence of *quasi* = *quem ad modum* in § 71; (3) of *audaciter* = *audacter* in § 72; (4) of *tuerentur* for *intuerentur* in § 77; (5) of *neutiquam* in § 42; (6) of the nominative of the gerundive governing an accusative case in § 6. In every instance the

[1] See below (ii.), 1.

[2] On the whole subject of Aristotle's dialogues see Bernays' monograph, *Die Dialoge des Aristoteles.*

notes will supply a refutation of the allegation. That Cicero should attempt to write in any style but his own is exceedingly improbable.

5. *Personages.*

The conversation is supposed to take place between Cato, Scipio Africanus the younger, and Laelius, in the year before Cato's death, *i. e.* 150 B.C., when he was in his eighty-fourth year,[1] Scipio being about 35 and Laelius a few years older.

(1.) *Cato.* M. Porcius Cato was born in 234 B.C.[2] at the ancient Latin town of Tusculum. Little is known of his family except that it was plebeian, and possessed a small patrimony in the territory of the Sabines, close to the farm of M'. Curius Dentatus, one of Cato's great heroes and models. The heads of the family, so far as memory extended, had distinguished themselves as tough warriors and hardy farmers. Among the Sabines, who even down to the times of the Empire were famed for simplicity of manners and the practice of all the sterner virtues, Cato passed those portions of his life which were not occupied with business of state. From his earliest days he toiled in his own fields, and contented himself with the hardest rustic life.[3] Yet even in his boyhood Cato must have passed intervals at Rome, and seen something of the great statesmen and generals of the time.[4] He seems to have received when young as thorough an education as was possible without learning Greek, such an education as was to be obtained only in the capital. He grew up to manhood in the comparatively quiet

[1] § 32 *quartum ago annum et octogesimum.* Cf. Lael. 11 *memini Catonem ante quam est mortuus mecum et cum Scipione disserere* etc.

[2] Cicero always indicates this date; cf. § 14. Some other writers, as Livy, give, probably wrongly, an earlier date.

[3] He himself says (Festus, p. 281) *ego iam a principio in parsimonia atque in duritia atque industria omnem adulescentiam, abstinui agro colendo, saxis Sabinis silicibus repastinandis atque conserendis.* Cf Gell. *Noct. Att.* 13, 23.

[4] See Cat. M 44.

period between the first and the second Punic wars; the most exciting event of his younger years must have been the destruction at Clastidium of the vast hordes of Celts who had swept over the northern half of Italy, almost within reach of Rome.

Cato was of the age for military service about the time of the battle of Lake Trasimenus, and entered the army then as a common soldier.[1] The first expedition in which he is definitely said to have taken part is that of Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator against Hannibal in Campania, in 214.[2] This Roman commander was a man entirely after Cato's heart, and became one of his models in public life.

Before and during the early years of his soldier's life, Cato succeeded in winning some reputation as an orator, having practised first in the provincial courts near his home, and afterwards at Rome.[3] This reputation as well as his great force of character procured for him a powerful life-long friend and patron, M. Valerius Flaccus, a statesman of the old Roman conservative-democratic school of politics, the leader of which was Fabius Cunctator. Through the influence of Flaccus, possibly with the aid of Fabius, Cato became military tribune, and served with that rank under Marcellus in Sicily, under Fabius again at the capture of Tarentum in 209,[4] and under C. Claudius Nero at the battle of the Metaurus, where he contributed materially to that great victory.

In 204 Cato began his political career with the quaestorship.[5] As he was a *novus homo* and a man of small private means, it was no small distinction that he had forced his way to office in

[1] Plut. c. 1; Cat. M. §§ 18, 32: Cato himself ap. Fest. s. v. *ordinarius* says *quid mihi fieret si non ego stipendia in ordine omnia ordinarius meruissem semper?*

[2] § 10.

[3] If Plutarch may be trusted, Cato at the age of 30 had won for himself the title of 'the Roman Demosthenes'.

[4] § 10.

[5] In § 10 Cicero makes the quaestorship fall in 205, but he refers to the election, not to the actual year of office.

his thirtieth year. The lot assigned him as quaestor to Scipio, then in Sicily and about to cross over into Africa. The chance was most unfortunate, if for no other reason, because Cato was intimately connected with the party in the senate opposed to Scipio, which had been attempting to bring him to trial for the atrocities committed by the Roman army in southern Italy. But in addition the two men were so utterly different that there was no possibility of the quaestor standing in that filial relation to his consul, which old Roman custom required. As financial officer, Cato complained of the luxury and extravagance which Scipio allowed not only to himself but to his army. Yet the complaint was made not so much on economic as on moral grounds; it seemed to Cato that the old Roman discipline and power to endure hardships were being swept away. The dispute was ended by Scipio allowing Cato to return to Rome, some authorities say from Sicily, others from Africa. According to one writer,[1] he came home by way of Sardinia and brought thence with him Ennius the poet.[2]

In 199 Cato was plebeian aedile, and exercised with severity the police jurisdiction pertaining to that office, yet so as to win popular approval, since he was chosen praetor for 198 without the usual interval. The province of Sardinia was entrusted to him, and he strained every nerve to make his government present as strong a contrast as possible with the lax and corrupt administration of the nobles who took Scipio for their pattern. The troops were sternly disciplined, and law-breakers of every kind severely dealt with; in money matters the strictest economy prevailed; all gifts from provincials to Roman officers were forbidden. The praetor, the great representative of Roman power, passed from town to town attended by a single servant.

In 196 Cato was occupied with his canvass for the consulship

[1] Nepos (or pseudo-Nepos), Cat. 1.

[2] Cato afterwards made it a charge against M. Fulvius Nobilior that he had taken Ennius with him on a campaign (Tusc. 1, 3). But Cato used Ennius as soldier while Nobilior employed him as poet.

of the year 195, to which he was elected in company with his friend Flaccus. Cato was the first *novus homo* elected since C. Flaminius, the consul of 217. It is probable, though not certain, that he paved the way to his election by carrying the first of the *leges Porciae*, restricting the right of punishing Roman citizens. During the whole of his career Cato showed a high sense of the importance of the individual *civis Romanus*.

One of the first official acts of the new consul was to deliver a set speech to the people against a proposal to repeal the Oppian law, passed twenty years before, the object of which was to prevent lavish expenditure on dress and adornments, particularly by women. We have a lively report of Cato's speech from Livy's pen, partly founded on the speech as published by Cato himself.[1] The earnest pleading in favor of simple manners and economy failed, after having almost caused an open insurrection on the part of the women.[2]

The two new provinces in Spain, Hispania Citerior and Ulterior, were still in a very unsettled state. The nearer province was made a consular province and assigned to Cato; the praetor who governed the farther province was also placed under Cato's jurisdiction. Before leaving Rome Cato carried a law for protecting the provincials from extortion. During the whole of his year of office he practised with the utmost exactness his principles of purity, simplicity, and economy in public affairs. He is said to have started from his house on the journey to Spain with only three servants, but when he got as far as the forum, it struck him that such an attendance was scarcely worthy of a Roman consul, so he purchased two more slaves on the spot! In the same spirit, before returning he sold his horse that the state might not be at the expense of transporting it to Italy. Cato was no less careful of the revenue than of the expenditure. He largely increased the productiveness of the mines and other

[1] It is difficult, however, to fix the date of this enactment. Some authorities place it after Cato's return from Spain.

[2] Livy 34, cc. 1–8.

property belonging to the state, and all goods captured from the enemy were sold for the benefit of the exchequer. On leaving the province Cato made an unusually large gift to each soldier, saying that it was better for all to bring home silver than for a few to bring home gold. The provincials were thoroughly content with their ruler and ever after looked on him as their best friend. The army was kept in the strictest discipline. Some disorderly conduct of the *equites* was rebuked by Cato in a bitter harangue which he afterwards published. Partly by craft, partly by good leadership in the field, Cato broke the strength of the turbulent natives and returned to enjoy a well-earned triumph.[1] In the same year (194) a brilliant triumph was celebrated by Flamininus.

Scipio, probably uneasy at the great reputations quickly won by Flamininus and Cato, secured his second consulship for the year 194, but failed to achieve anything remarkable. Cato probably spent the three years after his return for the most part at his Sabine farm. When the war against Antiochus broke out, he took service along with his friend Flaccus on the staff of the consul Glabrio,[2] and by a difficult march over the mountains broke in on the king's rear, and so was chiefly instrumental in winning the great battle of Thermopylae, by which Antiochus was driven out of Greece. Immediately after the battle Cato returned home with despatches. We have dim and uncertain information that he took the field once or twice again, but his career as a soldier was practically ended.

From this time to his death, forty years later, Cato was the leading figure on the stage of Roman politics. In season and out of season he attacked abuses or innovations in speeches addressed to the senate, the people, or the courts. Soon after his return from Thessaly he struck a heavy blow at the unrepublican honor-hunting among the magistrates, of which the example

[1] See Livy, 34, 18.

[2] *i. e.* he was *legatus consularis.* It was at the time a common thing for ex-consuls to take service under their successors. So Liv. 36, 17, 1, but Cic. Cat. M. c 10 says *tribunus militaris.*

had been set by P. Scipio Africanus. Most provincial governors drove their subjects into war, sent lying despatches home about their victories, and claimed a triumph. In 190 Cato attacked with success the proposal to grant a triumph to Q. Minucius Thermus, who had already triumphed over the Spaniards as praetor, and after his consulship in 193 had fought against the Ligurians. Cato's next victim was his former commander M'. Acilius Glabrio, who came forward at the same time with Cato, Marcellus (a son of the captor of Syracuse), L. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, T. Quinctius Flamininus (the conqueror of Macedonia) and Cato's friend L. Valerius Flaccus, as candidate for the censorship of 189. Cato by his violent speeches procured the trial of Glabrio for appropriating the plunder captured in Thessaly, and himself gave evidence concerning some property which had disappeared. Glabrio denounced Cato as a perjurer, but yet retired from his candidature. On this occasion Cato and Flaccus failed, Marcellus being elected as plebeian and Flamininus as patrician censor.

In the next year (188) Cato acted in the senate with the party which tried unsuccessfully to refuse the triumph to the two consuls of 189, M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso, the former of whom had gained none but trifling advantages over the Aetolians, while the latter had disgraced the Roman name by making war without authorization upon the Gauls of Asia Minor, and had also suffered a humiliating defeat from some Thracian robber bands on his homeward march. Not disheartened by ill success, Cato and his friends determined to strike at higher game. L. Scipio Asiaticus (or Asiagenus), the brother of Africanus, was asserted in the senate to have appropriated 3000 talents of public money when in command against Antiochus. Legal proceedings were taken not only against Asiaticus, but against Africanus, who behaved with great violence and arrogance. In the end Africanus withdrew to his country estate, while his brother was condemned to pay a heavy fine. A death-stroke had been given to the almost kingly authority of Africanus, who never again showed his face in Rome. The proceed-

ings against the Scipios seem to have begun in 187 and not to have been completed before 185.

Nearly twenty years had passed since the conflict between Cato and Scipio began, and now it had ended in a complete triumph for Cato.[1] But the new modes of which Scipio was the chief patron were too strong to be conquered, and Cato spent the rest of his life in fighting a hopeless battle against them, though he fought for a time with the strongest weapons that the constitution supplied. In 184 he was censor along with Flaccus, who seems to have allowed his colleague full liberty of action. Every portion of the censor's duty was carried out on the most severe and 'old Roman' principles. Seven senators were degraded, among them L. Flamininus, an ex-consul and brother of the 'liberator of the Hellenes,' for serious misconduct,[2] also Manilius, an ex-praetor, for no worse offence than that of having kissed his wife in presence of his daughter. M. Furius Purpurio, who had actually competed with Cato for the censorship, was punished for diverting a public aqueduct for his private advantage. Flaccus was named leader of the senate in the place of Scipio Africanus, now dead.

On reviewing the *equites*, Cato removed from that body L. Scipio and many others on various charges: this one had allowed himself to grow too fat for horsemanship; that had failed to groom his horse properly; another had neglected his farm; another again had made an untimely jest on the occasion of the review itself. With the ordinary citizens Cato dealt just as harshly. In his censorian edict he sharply reproved the extravagance prevalent at private feasts. All articles of luxury, such as slaves purchased at fancy prices, luxurious clothing, carriages, statues, and pictures were rendered liable to heavy taxation. In this way Cato revenged himself for the repeal of the Oppian law.

1 Cicero's statements throughout the treatise concerning the relations between Cato and Africanus the elder, particularly in § 77 where Cato calls his enemy *amicissimus*, are audaciously inexact.

2 See Cato M. § 42.

In looking after the property and income of the state Cato followed the same principles he had acted on in Spain. He reduced the expenditure on public works as far as possible, and took care to sell at the full price the right to collect the revenue. Encroachments on the property of the nation were severely punished.

Not by acts only, but by constant speeches, full at once of grimness and humor, did Cato struggle against the degeneracy of his time.[1] He concluded his period of office with a self-laudatory harangue, and assumed the title *Censorius*, while his statue was placed in the temple of the goddess Salus with an inscription affirming that he had reformed the Roman nation.

But in a very brief time all trace of Cato's activity as censor was swept away, except that afforded by the numerous life-long quarrels in which he had involved himself.[2] In less than two years one of his victims, Purpurio, was employed by the senate on a high political mission, while another, L. Flamininus, sat among the senators at the games in defiance of Cato's sentence. Yet Cato remained by far the most powerful member of the senate. Titus Flamininus, his only important rival, quickly passed out of notice. So far as there was any democratic opposition to the senatorial oligarchy, Cato was the leader of that opposition for the remainder of his life. But at that period no great political movements agitated the state within; nearly the whole interest of the time was centred in the foreign relations of Rome. On matters of foreign policy Cato offered but little opposition to the prevailing tendencies of the age, though on particular occasions he exercised great influence. But his voice was at all times loudly heard on all questions of morality and public order. He supported the *lex Furia* and the *lex Voconia*, the object of which was to prevent the dissipation of family property, and the *lex Orchia*, directed against extravagant expendi-

[1] We possess the titles of 26 speeches delivered during or concerning his censorship.

[2] He is said to have undergone 44 prosecutions, and to have been prosecutor as often.

ture on feasts, also the *lex Baebia de ambitu*, the first serious attempt to check bribery. We hear also that Cato bitterly attacked Lepidus, censor in 180, for erecting a permanent theatre in place of the movable booths before used. The building was actually pulled down. We are told that from time to time he denounced the misdoings of provincial governors. In 171 he was one of a commission of five for bringing to justice three ex-praetors who had practised all manner of corruption in Spain. Almost the last act of his life was to prosecute Galba for cruel misgovernment of the Lusitanians. The titles of Cato's speeches show that he played a great part in the deliberations of the senate concerning foreign affairs, but as his fighting days were over and he was unfitted for diplomacy, we have little explicit evidence of his activity in this direction. At the end of the third Macedonian war he successfully opposed the annexation of Macedonia. He also saved from destruction the Rhodians, who during the war had plainly desired the victory of Perseus, and in the early days, when the Roman commanders had ill success, had deeply wounded the whole Roman nation by an offer to mediate between them and the king of Macedon.

Cato had all his life retained his feeling of enmity to the Carthaginians, whom Scipio, he thought, had treated too tenderly. In 150 he was one of an embassy sent to Carthage, and came back filled with alarm at the prosperity of the city. It is said that whatever was the subject on which he was asked for his opinion in the senate, he always ended his speech with '*ceterum censeo delendam esse Carthaginem*'. P. Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Africanus, and the representative of his policy, always shouted out the opposite opinion, thinking that the fear of Carthage had a salutary effect on the Roman populace at large. But the ideas of Cato prevailed, and a cruel policy, carried out with needless brutality, led to the extinction of Rome's greatest rival. Cato did not live to see the conclusion of the war; he died in 149, at the age of 84 or 85 years, having retained his mental and physical vigor to the last He had two sons, one by his first wife, and one by his second wife, born when Cato was 80

years of age. The elder son, to whom many of Cato's works were addressed, died as praetor-elect, before his father[1]. The other was grandfather of Cato Uticensis.

The literary activity of the old censor was great, though his leisure was small.[2] In Cicero's time a collection of 150 speeches was still extant. The titles of about 90 are still known to us, and of some we possess a few fragments. Cato's greatest work, however, was his *Origines*, the first real historical work written in Latin. His predecessors had been merely compilers of chronicles. The work was founded on laborious investigations, and comprised the history of Rome from the earliest times perhaps down to 150 B.C.[3], as well as notices of the history of other important Italian states. Further, Cato wrote of Agriculture, to which he was enthusiastically devoted. We still have his *De Re Rustica*, a collection of maxims loosely strung together. He also composed works on law; a sort of educational encyclopædia for his son; and a collection of witty sayings, Ἀποφθέγματα, drawn from Greek as well as from Roman sources.

Plutarch seems to have known a collected edition of the pungent and proverbial utterances for which the censor was famous, and for which (not for any knowledge of philosophy[4]) he received the title of *sapiens* ('shrewd') which he bore at the end of his life. This edition, however, was not compiled by Cato himself.

In view of Cicero's treatise, the Cato Maior, it is necessary to say something of Cato's relations with the Greeks and Greek literature. The ancients give us merely vague statements that he only began to learn Greek 'in his old age.' The expression must be liberally interpreted if, as seems clear, the whole of his writings showed the influence of Greek literature. It is certain, however, that he thoroughly detested the Greek nation. This hatred was shown in acts more than once. No doubt Cato was

[1] See Lael. 9; Cat. M. 12 and 84.

[2] Cf. Livy, 39. 40.

[3] The common view is that Cato said nothing of Roman history from 509-266 B.C.

[4] Cf. Cic. pro Arch. 7, 16.

at least a consenting party to the expulsion from Rome of Greek teachers in 161 B.C. When in 155 the famous embassy came from Athens consisting of Carneades the Academic, Critolaus the Peripatetic and Diogenes the Stoic, Cato was a prime mover of the decree by which they were removed from the city. Socrates was one of Cato's favorite marks for jests. And this is the man into whose mouth Cicero puts the utterances, but slightly veiled, of Greek wisdom!

(2.) *Scipio.* P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the younger, was no blood relation of the conqueror of Hannibal, but the adopted son of his son. It must be remembered, however, that adoption was much more formal and binding, and produced much closer ties in ancient than in modern times.[1] The elder Africanus was unfortunate in his sons. The younger of these attained to the praetorship in 174, but was immediately driven from the senate by the censors of that year on account of his disreputable life. The elder was an invalid, who never held any office except that of augur, and died at an early age. He adopted the son of L. Aemilius Paulus, the victor of Pydna; the adopted son bore the name Aemilianus in memory of his origin. Cato's son married a daughter of Paulus, so that the censor was brought into relationship with the Cornelii, whose most illustrious representative he had hated and attacked.

The young Scipio was born about 185, and when scarce 17 years old fought with daring bravery at Pydna. While still very young he showed a great devotion to study, which he retained through life. He was a thorough partisan of the new Greek learning, and grouped around him in friendship all the leaders of the Hellenistic movement. Among his dearest friends were Polybius, the Greek statesman and historian, and later Panætius, the Stoic. In 151 B.C. when the consuls found it difficult to enlist officers and men for service in Spain, where great defeats had been suffered, Scipio volunteered, and served with great distinction as military tribune. When the war with Carthage broke out he

[1] See Coulanges, 'Ancient City', Bk. II. Ch. 4.

held the same rank, and shone by comparison with his blundering superior officers. Coming to Rome in 148 he stood for the ædileship, but was elected consul for the year 147, and again for 146, when he finished the war. He is said to have grieved over the fate of Carthage, and to have dreaded any further increase of the Roman territory. In 142 Scipio was censor, and acted with almost Catonian severity. In 134, though not a candidate, he was elected to the consulship and put in command of the Roman army then besieging the city of Numantia in Spain. The war, of which this siege formed a part, had been going on for some years most disastrously for the Romans, but Scipio speedily brought it to a conclusion in 133. While before Numantia he received news of the murder of Ti. Gracchus, whose sister he had married and whose cousin he had become by adoption, but whose policy he had on the whole opposed, though he had occasionally coquetted with the democrats. This course cost him the favor of the people, and when in 131 he desired to conduct the war against Aristonicus, only two of the thirty-five tribes voted for his appointment. In 129, after a violent scene in the senate, where he had opposed the carrying out of Ti. Gracchus' agrarian law, he was triumphantly escorted home by a crowd, composed chiefly of Italians whose interests had been threatened by the law. Next morning he was found dead in his bed. Opinion as to the cause of his death was divided at the time and so remained. In the *Laelius* the death is assumed to have been from natural causes.[1] Elsewhere, however, Cicero adopts the view of many of Scipio's friends that he was murdered by Carbo.[2] Carbo afterwards lent color to the suspicions by putting himself to death, in order, as was supposed, to avoid a direct prosecution. In ancient times even C. Gracchus was suspected of having thus avenged his brother's death, but no modern scholar of any rank has countenanced the suspicion.

Whether the degree of intimacy between Cato and Scipio, which Cicero assumes, ever existed or not, cannot be determined.[3]

[1] See §§ 12, 41 etc.

[2] De Or. 2, 170; Fam 9, 21, 3; Qu. Fr. 2, 3, 3.

[3] In *De Re Publica* 2, 1 Cicero makes Scipio talk extravagantly of Cato.

There was much in Scipio that would attract Cato. Unlike the elder Africanus, he was severe and simple in his outward life, and though a lover of Greek and Greeks, yet attached to all that was best in the old Roman character and polity. Though an opponent of revolution, he was far from being a partisan of the oligarchy. Altogether, of all Romans, he most nearly deserved the description, '*ἀνὴρ τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου*,' 'a man four-square without reproach.' In his *De Re Publica*, Cicero points to Scipio as the ideal statesman, and often elsewhere eulogizes him as an almost perfect Roman.

(3.) *Laelius.* Gaius Laelius, born about 186, was Scipio's most distinguished officer before Carthage, and his most intimate friend throughout life. The friendship of the two was one of the most famous in antiquity, and is celebrated in the *Laelius.* Laelius was an able speaker, writer and soldier, and devoted to Greek learning, particularly to the Stoic philosophy. He is with Cicero the type of a man of culture.[1] He, too, is one of the interlocutors in the *De Re Publica.*

(ii.) Subject-Matter.

1. *General View.*

The Cato Maior falls naturally into three parts: —

Preliminary, dedication to Atticus, §§ 1–3;
Introductory Conversation, 4–9;
Cato's Defence of Old Age, 10–85.

After § 9 Cato continues to express his views on old age without interruption to the end, and the dialogue thus becomes really a monologue.

2. *Analysis.*

Preliminary . . . . 1-3.

Cicero, addressing Atticus. states his purpose in writing the book and the effect of the work on himself (1, 2). the reasons

[1] See Introduction to the Laelius, pp. vi, vii.

for putting the sentiments on old age into the mouth of Cato, and the circumstances of the supposed conversation (3).

Introductory Conversation . . . . 4-9.

Scipio declares his admiration of Cato's vigorous and happy old age. Cato replies that the secret lies in following the guidance of Nature (4, 5). Laelius then asks Cato to point out the road to such an old age as his own (6). This the old man promises to do, but first remarks that the faults charged against old age are generally due to defects of character (7). Laelius suggests that prosperity makes Cato's declining years pleasant. Cato admits that there may be some truth in this, but maintains that right character alone can make old age tolerable (8, 9).

Cato's Defence of Old Age . . . . 10-85.

A. Introductory argument from fact. Account of celebrated old men whose lives till death were useful and happy **10–14**

(a). Fabius Maximus 10–12

(b). Plato; (c). Isocrates; (d). Gorgias . . . 13

(e). Ennius 14

B. Refutation of charges made against old age . . . 15–85

Statement of the four charges commonly made against old age: it withdraws men from active life, it weakens the physical powers, it takes away capacity for enjoyment, and it involves the anticipation of death 15

A. Refutation of the first charge, that old age withdraws from active life.

(a). There are employments suited to old age which are as necessary to the well-being of society as those which require greater physical powers . 15-20

(b). The special objection that old men have weak memories is answered by showing that this is due either to an original defect or to insufficient exercise **21–22**

(c). Argument from fact: instances of old men in public and in private life who till death were actively at work 23–26

B. Rebuttal of the second charge, that old age weakens the physical powers.

(a). Old age does not desire nor require the strength of youth, because it may exert influence through other means. Instances cited to show this 27–32

(b). Temperate habits will retain a good measure of strength till old age (33, 34); many instances of weakness in old age may be attributed to ill-health, which is common to all periods of life (35); proper care will greatly retard decay 33–38

C. Refutation of the third charge, that old age takes away the capacity for enjoyment.

(a). The pleasures in which youth finds its keenest enjoyment are in themselves bad, and old age is beneficent in freeing from their allurements 39–44

(b). Old age has pleasures far more refined and satisfying than those of sense 45–64
Such as, those of conversation and literature (45–50); especially those of agriculture (51–61); and lastly, the exercise of influence, which old age will always possess if a rightly spent youth has preceded (62–64).

(c). The special objection that old men's tempers spoil their enjoyments is met by the statement that this is the fault of character, not of age . 65

D. Refutation of the fourth charge, that old age is unhappy because it involves the anticipation of death.

(a). Since the right aim of life is to live not long but well, death ought not to be dreaded at any age 66–69

(b). Old men, especially those of learning and culture, ought not to fear death 70–76
Because, that which is according to nature is good, and it is natural for old men to die (70–73); the process of dying is brief and almost painless (74); even young men and those without learning often set the example of despising death (75); and old age, just as the other periods of life, has finally its season of ripeness and satiety (76).

(c). Death is probably the gateway to a happy immortality 77–85
Tending towards proof of this are the arguments stated in Plato; viz. the rapidity of the mind's action, its powers of memory and invention, its self-activity, indivisible nature and preexistence (78); also the arguments, attributed to Cyrus, based upon the soul's immateriality, the posthumous fame of great men and the likeness of death to sleep (79–81); the instinctive belief in immortality, so strong as even to form an incentive for action (82); and, finally, the speaker's own longing after immortality and hope of union with those whom he once knew and loved (83–85).

M. TULLI CICERONIS

CATO MAIOR

DE SENECTUTE.

I. *O Tite, si quid ego adiuero curamve levasso* 1
quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,
ecquid erit praemi?

Licet enim mihi versibus isdem affari te, Attice, quibus affatur Flamininum

ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei,

quamquam certo scio non, ut Flamininum,

sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctesque diesque,

novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem, teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et prudentiam intellego. Et tamen te suspicor isdem rebus quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem visum est mihi de
senectute aliquid ad te conscribere. Hoc enim onere, 2
quod mihi commune tecum est, aut iam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis et te et me ipsum levari volo: etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter, sicut omnia, et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas

dignus eo munere, quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita iucunda huius libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnis absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et iucundam senectutem. Numquam igitur laudari satis digne philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit
3 degere. Sed de ceteris et diximus multa et saepe dicemus: hunc librum ad te de senectute misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Cius, parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula, sed M. Catoni seni, quo maiorem auctoritatem haberet oratio: apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantis, quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, eisque eum respondentem, qui si eruditius videbitur disputare quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, attribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Iam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

4 II. SCIPIO. Saepe numero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.

CATO. Rem haud sane, Scipio et Laeli, difficilem admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est: qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, eis nihil potest malum videri quod naturae necessitas afferat. Quo in genere est in primis senectus, quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam: tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere

aiunt eam citius quam putassent. Primum quis coegit eos falsum putare? Qui enim citius adulescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepit? Deinde qui minus gravis esset eis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent, quam si octogesimum? Praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa, cum effluxisset, nulla consolatione permulcere posset stultam senectutem. Quocirca 5
si sapientiam meam admirari soletis, quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine, in hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus: a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene descriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poeta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum et, tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque fructibus, maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferundum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare?

LAELIUS. Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam 6
pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus, volumus quidem certe, senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus.

CATO. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est.

LAELIUS. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediundum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti, videre quale sit.

III. CATO. Faciam ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim 7
interfui querellis aequalium meorum, pares autem vetere

proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur, quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares, nostri fere aequales, deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab eis, a quibus essent coli soliti; qui mihi non id videbantur accusare, quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querella, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istius modi querellarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt, importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est.

8 Laelius. Est, ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis contingere.

Cato. Est istuc quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia; ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua, sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum: 'nec hercule', inquit, 'si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses'. Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest; nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest, ne sapienti quidem,
9 nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos ecferunt fructus, non solum quia numquam deserunt, ne extremo quidem

tempore aetatis, quamquam id quidem maximum est, verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio iucundissima est.

IV. Ego Q. Maximum, eum qui Tarentum recepit, 10
senem adulescens ita dilexi, ut aequalem. Erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat. Quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen iam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum consule adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adulescens, cum plane grandis esset, et Hannibalem iuveniliter exsultantem patientia sua molliebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem;
noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem;
ergo plusque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! 11
Cum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fugerat in arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti, 'mea opera, Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti', 'certe', inquit ridens, 'nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam recepissem'. Nec vero in armis praestantior quam in toga; qui consul iterum, Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente, C. Flaminio tribuno plebis, quoad potuit, restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti;

augurque cum esset, dicere ausus est optimis auspiciis ea geri, quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur; quae contra rem publicam ferrentur, contra auspicia ferri.
12 Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi, sed nihil admirabilius quam quo modo ille mortem fili tulit, clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo, quae praecepta! Quanta notitia antiquitatis, scientia iuris auguri! Multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae: omnia memoria tenebat non domestica solum, sed etiam externa bella. Cuius sermone ita tum cupide fruebar, quasi iam divinarem, id quod evenit, illo exstincto fore unde discerem neminem.

13 V. Quorsus igitur haec tam multa de Maximo? Quia profecto videtis nefas esse dictu miseram fuisse talem senectutem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestris navalisve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus, qualem Isocrati, qui eum librum, qui Panathenaicus inscribitur, quarto nonagesimo anno scripsisse dicit vixitque quinquennium postea; cuius magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos, neque umquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur cur tam diu vellet esse in vita, 'nihil habeo,' inquit, 'quod accusem senectutem'.
14 Praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignum! Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem

conferunt, quod non faciebat is, cuius modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

sic ut fortis ecus, spatio qui saepe supremo
vicit Olumpia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam; quem quidem probe meminisse potestis; anno enim undevicesimo post eius mortem hi consules, T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius, facti sunt; ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est, cum ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem. Annos septuaginta natus, tot enim vixit Ennius, ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur.

Etenim, cum complector animo, quattuor reperio 15
causas cur senectus misera videatur: unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis; alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius; tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus; quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit iusta una quaeque videamus.

VI. A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit. Quibus? An eis, quae iuventute geruntur et viribus? Nullaene igitur res sunt seniles, quae vel infirmis corporibus animo tamen administrentur? Nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus, nihil L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimi viri fili mei? Ceteri senes, Fabricii Curii Coruncanii, cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant? Ad Appi Claudi senectutem accedebat etiam ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senatus in- 16

clinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa, quae versibus persecutus est Ennius:

quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
antehac, dementis sese flexere viai?

ceteraque gravissime, notum enim vobis carmen est, et tamen ipsius Appi exstat oratio. Atque haec ille egit septemdecim annis post alterum consulatum, cum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset, ex quo intellegitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse, et tamen sic a patribus
17 accepimus. Nihil igitur afferunt qui in re gerenda versari senectutem negant, similesque sunt ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi, non faciat ea, quae iuvenes. At vero multo maiora et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio auctoritate sententia, quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri
18 senectus solet; nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum, cessare nunc videor, cum bella non gero. At senatui quae sint gerenda praescribo et quo modo; Carthagini male iam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio, de qua vereri non ante desinam quam
19 illam exscisam esse cognovero. Quam palmam utinam di immortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi relliquias persequare, cuius a morte tertius hic et tricesimus annus est, sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est,

novem annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum me consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? Nec enim excursione nec saltu, nec eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio ratione sententia, quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent senatum. Apud Lacedae- 20
monios quidem ei, qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adulescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

Cedo qui vestram rem publicam tantam amisistis tam cito?

sic enim percontantur in Naevi poetae Ludo. Respondentur et alia et hoc in primis:

proveniebant oratores novi, stulti adulescentuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

VII. At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam ex- 21
erceas, aut etiam si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina; num igitur censetis eum, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos, nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senem audivi oblitum, quo loco thesaurum obruisset. Omnia quae curant meminerunt, vadimonia constituta, quis sibi, cui ipsi debeant. Quid 22
iuris consulti, quid pontifices, quid augures, quid phi-

losophi senes? Quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria, neque ea solum claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit; quod propter studium cum rem neglegere familiarem videretur, a filiis in iudicium vocatus est, ut, quem ad modum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent iudices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, Oedipum Coloneum, recitasse iudicibus quaesisseque num illud carmen desipientis videre-
23 tur, quo recitato sententiis iudicum est liberatus. Num igitur hunc, num Homerum Hesiodum Simoniden Stesichorum, num quos ante dixi Isocraten Gorgian, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoran Democritum, num Platonem Xenocraten, num postea Zenonem Cleanthen, aut eum, quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenen Stoicum coegit in suis studiis obmutiscere senectus? An in omnibus studiorum agitatio vitae
24 aequalis fuit? Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiaris meos, quibus absentibus numquam fere ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in aliis minus hoc mirum est, nemo enim est tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere; sed idem in eis elaborant, quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere:

serit arbores, quae alteri saeclo prosint,

25 ut ait Statius noster in Synephebis. Nec vero dubitat agricola, quamvis sit senex, quaerenti cui serat respon-

dere: 'dis immortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere'.

VIII. Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente, quam illud idem:

edepol, senectus, si nil quicquam aliud viti
adportes tecum, cum advenis, unum id sat est,
quod diu vivendo multa quae non volt videt.

Et multa fortasse quae volt, atque in ea, quae non volt, saepe etiam adulescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius:

tum equidem in senecta hoc deputo miserrimum,
sentire ea aetate eumpse esse odiosum alteri.

Iucundum potius quam odiosum! Ut enim adulescenti- 26
bus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur, leviorque fit senectus eorum qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur, nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi vos esse iucundos. Sed videtis, ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet, quale cuiusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid, qui etiam addiscunt aliquid, ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri, et ego feci, qui litteras Graecas senex didici, quas quidem sic avide arripui quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod cum fecisse Socraten in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud, discebant enim fidibus antiqui, sed in litteris certe elaboravi. #

27 IX. Ne nunc quidem viris desidero adulescentis, is
enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis, non plus quam
adulescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est,
eo decet uti et quidquid agas agere pro viribus. Quae
enim vox potest esse contemptior quam Milonis Croto-
niatae? Qui cum iam senex esset athletasque se exer-
centis in curriculo videret, aspexisse lacertos suos dicitur
illacrimansque dixisse, 'at hi quidem mortui iam sunt'.
Non vero tam isti, quam tu ipse, nugator, neque enim
ex te umquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et lacertis
tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti.
Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus iura civi-
bus praescribebantur, quorum usque ad extremum spiri-
28 tum est provecta prudentia. Orator metuo ne languescat
senectute: est enim munus eius non ingeni solum, sed
laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce
splendescit etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute, quod
equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos. Sed tamen
est decorus seni sermo quietus et remissus, facitque per-
saepe ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis composita et
mitis oratio, quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen
Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid enim est iucundius
29 senectute stipata studiis iuventutis? An ne illas quidem
viris senectuti relinquimus, ut adulescentis doceat, insti-
tuat, ad omne offici munus instruat? Quo quidem opere
quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero et Cn. et P.
Scipiones et avi tui duo L. Aemilius et P. Africanus
comitatu nobilium iuvenum fortunati videbantur, nec
ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis
consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ipsa ista de-
fectio virium adulescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam
senectute; libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia

effetum corpus tradit senectuti. Cyrus quidem apud 30
Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum
admodum senex esset, negat se umquam sensisse senec-
tutem suam imbecilliorem factam quam adulescentia
fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini puer, qui, cum qua-
driennio post alterum consulatum pontifex maximus
factus esset, viginti et duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit,
ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis, ut adu-
lescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de
me ipso dicere, quamquam est id quidem senile aeta-
tique nostrae conceditur. X. Videtisne, ut apud Home- 31
rum saepissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet?
Tertiam enim aetatem hominum videbat, nec erat ei
verendum ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur aut
insolens aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus, ex eius
lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio; quam ad suavitatem
nullis egebat corporis viribus. Et tamen dux ille Grae-
ciae nusquam optat ut Aiacis similis habeat decem, sed
ut Nestoris, quod si sibi acciderit, non dubitat quin
brevi sit Troia peritura. Sed redeo ad me. Quartum 32
ago annum et octogesimum: vellem equidem idem posse
gloriari quod Cyrus, sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non
me quidem eis esse viribus, quibus aut miles bello
Punico aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania
fuerim aut quadriennio post, cum tribunus militaris
depugnavi apud Thermopylas M'. Glabrione consule;
sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit, non
afflixit senectus: non curia viris meas desiderat, non
rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim
umquam sum assensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio,
quod monet mature fieri senem, si diu velis senex esse.
Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem quam esse

senem ante quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire
33 me voluit cui fuerim occupatus. At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Ponti centurionis viris habetis: num idcirco est ille praestantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit et tantum quantum potest quisque nitatur, ne ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, cum umeris sustineret bovem: utrum igitur has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis viris ingeni dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit, cum absit, ne requiras: nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paulum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis et una via naturae eaque simplex, suaque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum et ferocitas iuvenum et gravitas iam constantis aetatis et senectutis maturitas naturale
34 quiddam habet, quod suo tempore percipi debeat. Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos: cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere; cum autem equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduci ut capite operto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem, itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Ne sint in senectute vires: ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo et legibus et institutis vacat aetas nostra muneribus eis quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur.
35 At multi ita sunt imbecilli senes, ut nullum offici aut

omnino vitae munus exsequi possint. At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius, is qui te adoptavit, quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sunt aliquando, cum id ne adulescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est, eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt, pugnandum tamquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem, habenda ratio valetudinis, utendum exercitationi- 36
bus modicis, tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis. Nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defetigatione ingravescunt, animi autem exercitando levantur. Nam quos ait Caecilius 'comicos stultos senes,' hos significat credulos obliviosos dissolutos, quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis ignavae somniculosae senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adulescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum 37
levium est, non omnium. Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex; intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habebat nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos: metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant; vigebat in illo animus patrius

38 et disciplina. Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si ius suum retinet, si nemini emancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adulescentem in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem in quo est aliquid adulescentis probo, quod qui sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit. Septimus mihi liber Originum est in manibus; omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo; causarum illustrium, quascunque defendi, nunc cum maxime conficio orationes; ius augurium pontificium civile tracto; multum etiam Graecis litteris utor, Pythagoriorumque more, exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim audierim egerim commemoro vesperi. Hae sunt exercitationes ingeni, haec curricula mentis; in his desudans atque elaborans corporis viris non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis, venio in senatum frequens ultroque affero res multum et diu cogitatas easque tueor animi, non corporis viribus. Quas si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem, quae iam agere non possem; sed ut possim facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat senectus: ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

39 XII. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, si quidem id aufert a nobis, quod est in adulescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adulescentes, veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est cum essem adulescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo. Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis homini-

bus dicebat a natura datam, cuius voluptatis avidae
libidines temere et ecfrenate ad potiendum incitarentur.
Hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum ever- 40
siones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina colloquia nasci;
nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad
quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impelleret;
stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis ex-
citari aliis illecebris nisi voluptatis; cumque homini sive
natura sive quis deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset,
huic divino muneri ac dono nihil tam esse inimicum quam
voluptatem. Nec enim libidine dominante temperan- 41
tiae locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno
virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intellegi
posset, fingere animo iubebat tanta incitatum aliquem
voluptate corporis, quanta percipi posset maxima:
nemini censebat fore dubium quin tam diu, dum ita
gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogita-
tione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam de-
testabile tamque pestiferum quam voluptatem, si quidem
ea, cum maior esset atque longior, omne animi lumen
exstingueret. Haec cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre eius,
a quo Caudino proelio Sp. Postumius T. Veturius con-
sules superati sunt, locutum Archytam Nearchus Taren-
tinus hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani
permanserat, se a maioribus natu accepisse dicebat,
cum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis,
quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo Ap. Claudio con-
sulibus reperio. Quorsus hoc? Ut intellegeretis, si 42
voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non posse-
mus, magnam esse habendam senectuti gratiam, quae
efficeret ut id non liberet quod non oporteret. Impedit
enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica est, mentis ut

ita dicam praestringit oculos, nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem L. Flamininum e senatu eicerem septem annis post quam consul fuisset, sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim cum esset consul in Gallia exoratus in convivio a scorto est ut securi feriret aliquem eorum qui in vinculis essent, damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito, fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est, mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quae cum probro privato coniungeret imperi dedecus.

43 XIII. Saepe audivi e maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cinea esse quendam Athenis qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere omnia quae faceremus ad voluptatem esse referenda. Quod ex eo audientis M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio, qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat: norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius, qui cum ex sua vita tum ex eius quem dico Deci facto iudicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte expeteretur quodque spreta et contempta voluptate optimus quisque
44 sequeretur. Quorsum igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat. Caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis. Caret ergo etiam vinulentia et

cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est
voluptati, quoniam eius blanditiis non facile obsistimus,
divine enim Plato escam malorum appellat voluptatem
quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces, quam-
quam immoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen
conviviis delectari potest. C. Duellium M. F., qui
Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena
senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur cereo funali
et tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat:
tantum licentiae dabat gloria. Sed quid ego alios? 45
Ad me ipsum iam revertar. Primum habui semper
sodalis — sodalitates autem me quaestore constitutae
sunt sacris Idaeis Magnae Matris acceptis — epulabar
igitur cum sodalibus, omnino modice, sed erat quidam
fervor aetatis, qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies
mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectatio-
nem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum
et sermonibus metiebar; bene enim maiores accubitio-
nem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem
haberet, convivium nominaverunt, melius quam Graeci,
qui hoc idem tum compotationem, tum concenationem
vocant, ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime
probare videantur.

XIV. Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tem- 46
pestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus
solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra
etiam aetate atque vobiscum, habeoque senectuti mag-
nam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit,
potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista de-
lectant, ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati,
cuius est fortasse quidam naturalis modus, non intellego
ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus carere sensu senec-

tutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a maioribus instituta et is sermo, qui more maiorum a summo adhibetur in poculo, et pocula, sicut in Symposio Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio aestate et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus. Quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo conviviumque vicinorum cotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem quam maxime possumus vario sermone producimus. At non est
47 voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus. Credo, sed ne desideratio quidem; nihil autem est molestum quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam iam affecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus veneriis, 'di meliora!' inquit; 'ego vero istinc sicut a domino agresti ac furioso profugi.' Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere, satiatis vero et expletis iucundius est carere quam frui; quamquam non caret is, qui non desiderat; ergo hoc non
48 desiderare dico esse iucundius. Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus, deinde eis, quibus senectus, etiam si non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima, sic adulescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus, procul eas
49 spectans, tantum quantum sat est. At illa quanti sunt, animum tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis ambitionis, contentionum inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium secum esse secumque, ut dicitur, vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studi atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute iucundius. Videbamus in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae Gallum familiarem

patris tui, Scipio. Quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid
describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit cum mane
coepisset! Quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et
lunae multo ante nobis praedicere! Quid in levioribus 50
studiis, sed tamen acutis? Quam gaudebat Bello suo
Punico Naevius, quam Truculento Plautus, quam Pseu-
dolo! Vidi etiam senem Livium, qui, cum sex annis
ante quam ego natus sum fabulam docuisset Centone
Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam
processit aetate. Quid de P. Licini Crassi et pontifici
et civilis iuris studio loquar aut de huius P. Scipionis,
qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est?
Atque eos omnis, quos commemoravi, his studiis fla-
grantis senes vidimus. M. vero Cethegum, quem recte
suadae medullam dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri
in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur
epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum
his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem
studia doctrinae, quae quidem prudentibus et bene
institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud
Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi,
senescere se multa in dies addiscentem, qua voluptate
animi nulla certe potest esse maior.

XV. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus 51
ego incredibiliter delector, quae nec ulla impediuntur
senectute et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur
accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae
numquam recusat imperium nec umquam sine usura
reddit quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore
cum faenore; quamquam me quidem non fructus modo,
sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat. Quae
cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit,

primum id occaecatum cohibet, ex quo occatio quae hoc efficit nominata est; deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem, quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adolescit culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis iam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus cum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus muni-
52 tur vallo aristarum. Quid ego vitium ortus satus incrementa commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium quae generantur e terra, quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet; malleoli plantae sarmenta viviradices propagines nonne efficiunt ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem quae natura caduca est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad terram, eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis quasi manibus quidquid est nacta complectitur, quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico, ferro amputans coercet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in
53 omnis partis nimia fundatur. Itaque ineunte vere in eis quae relicta sunt exsistit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea quae gemma dicitur, a qua oriens uva se ostendit, quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, dein maturata dulcescit vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret et nimios solis defendit ardores: qua quid potest esse cum fructu laetius, tum aspectu pulchrius? Cuius quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat: adminiculorum ordines, capitum iugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorum ea,

quam dixi, aliorum amputatio, aliorum immissio. Quid
ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque
proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior? Quid de 54
utilitate loquar stercorandi? Dixi in eo libro, quem de
rebus rusticis scripsi. De qua doctus Hesiodus ne
verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri scriberet.
At Homerus, qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante saeculis
fuit, Laerten lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e
filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec
vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res
rusticae laetae sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis, tum
pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium
varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam
insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agri cultura sollertius.

XVI. Possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum 55
rusticarum, sed ea ipsa quae dixi sentio fuisse longiora.
Ignoscetis autem, nam et studio rerum rusticarum
provectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab
omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita
M'. Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho
triumphavisset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis;
cuius quidem ego villam contemplans, abest enim non
longe a me, admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius
continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. Curio ad 56
focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum
attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere
praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis qui haberent aurum
imperare. Poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucun-
dam senectutem? Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me
ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est
senes, si quidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntia-
tum est eum dictatorem esse factum, cuius dictatoris

iussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium regnum appetentem occupatum interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo qui eos arcessebant viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit, qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium, quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent, ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam iam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est, abundat porco haedo agno gallina, lacte caseo melle. Iam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditiora facit haec supervacaneis etiam
57 operis aucupium atque venatio. Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? Brevi praecidam. Agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius, ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque allectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni, aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salu-
58 brius? Sibi habeant igitur arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi venationes atque cursus; nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras; id ipsum ut lubebit, quoniam sine eis beata esse senectus potest.

59 XVII. Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt, quos legite quaeso studiose, ut facitis. Quam

copiose ab eo agri cultura laudatur in eo libro, qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur! Atque ut intellegatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo Cyrum minorem Persarum regem, praestantem ingenio atque imperi gloria, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus communem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et directos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum qui afflarentur ex floribus, tum eum dixisse mirari se non modo diligentiam sed etiam sollertiam eius a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et Cyrum respondisse 'atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio; multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae.' Tum Lysandrum, intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse 'recte vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est!'
Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus, nec aetas impedit 60
quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, cum esset acta iam aetate in agris eosque coleret, cuius inter primum et sextum consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita quantum spatium aetatis maiores ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque huius extrema aetas hoc beatior quam media, quod auctori-

tatis habebat plus, laboris minus; apex est autem senec-
61 tutis auctoritas. Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello, quanta in A. Atilio Calatino! In quem illud elogium:

hunc unum plurimae consentiunt gentes
populi primarium fuisse virum.

Notum est totum carmen incisum in sepulcro. Iure igitur gravis, cuius de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum, pontificem maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum eodem sacerdotio praeditum vidimus! Quid de Paulo aut Africano loquar, aut, ut iam ante, de Maximo? Quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus, honorata praesertim, tantam auctoritatem, ut ea pluris sit quam omnes adulescentiae voluptates.

62 XVIII. Sed in omni oratione mementote eam me senectutem laudare, quae fundamentis adulescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo efficitur id, quod ego magno quondam cum assensu omnium dixi, miseram esse senectutem quae se oratione defenderet. Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem arripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos.
63 Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque communia, salutari appeti decedi assurgi deduci reduci consuli, quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cuius modo feci mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno

consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus, cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui, legati cum essent, certo in loco considerant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem sessum recepisse; quibus cum 64
a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex eis quendam Atheniensis scire quae recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in nostro collegio praeclara, sed hoc, de quo agimus, in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet, neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed eis etiam, qui cum imperio sunt, maiores natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? Quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ei mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse.

At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes. 65
Si quaerimus, etiam avari; sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia, quae dixi, habent aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem iustae, sed quae probari posse videatur: contemni se putant, despici, illudi; praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est; quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus, idque cum in vita tum in scaena intellegi potest ex eis fratribus qui in Adelphis sunt. Quanta in altero diritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet: ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis natura vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo, sed eam, sicut alia, modicam; acerbitatem nullo modo; avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit, non intellego.
Potest enim quicquam esse absurdius quam, quo viae 66
minus restet, eo plus viatici quaerere?

XIX. Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere at-

que sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, appropinquatio mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest esse longe. O miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate non viderit! Quae aut plane neglegenda est, si omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit ubi sit futurus aeternus.
67 Atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest. Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem, aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adulescens, cui sit exploratum se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo plūris quam nostra casus mortis habet: facilius in morbos incidunt adulescentes, gravius aegrotant, tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem; quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur. Mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est, qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino civitates fuissent. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod est istud crimen senectutis, cum id ei
68 videatis cum adulescentia esse commune? Sensi ego in optimo filio, tu in exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus, Scipio, mortem omni aetati esse communem. At sperat adulescens diu se victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest. Insipienter sperat; quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? At senex ne quod speret quidem habet. At est eo meliore condicione quam adulescens, quoniam id quod ille sperat hic consecutus est: ille volt diu
69 vivere, hic diu vixit. Quamquam, o di boni, quid est in hominis natura diu? Da enim supremum tempus, exspectemus Tartessiorum regis aetatem: fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus, qui octoginta regnaverat annos, centum viginti vixerat.

Sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum; cum enim id advenit, tum illud, quod praeteriit, effluxit; tantum remanet, quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis. Horae quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur nec quid sequatur sciri potest. Quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse
contentus. Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda 70
fabula est, modo in quocunque fuerit actu probetur; neque sapientibus usque ad 'plaudite' veniendum est, breve enim tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum; sin processerit longius, non magis dolendum est, quam agricolae dolent praeterita verni temporis suavitate aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adulescentia significat ostenditque fructus futuros; reliqua autem tempora demetendis
fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. Fructus 71
autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem, quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis; quid est autem tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori? Quod idem contingit adulescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur, senes autem sic, ut cum sua sponte, nulla adhibita vi, consumptus ignis exstinguitur, et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quae quidem mihi tam iucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse ven-
turus. XX. Senectutis autem nullus est certus termi- 72

nus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus offici exsequi et tueri possit mortemque contemnere, ex quo fit ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adulescentia et fortior. Hoc illud est, quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est, cum illi quaerenti qua tandem re fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret respondisse dicitur 'senectute.' Sed vivendi est finis optimus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem quae coagmentavit natura dissolvit. Ut navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime quae conglutinavit natura dissolvit. Iam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur. Ita fit ut illud breve vitae reliquum nec avide appetendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum sit;
73 vetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. Solonis quidem sapientis est elogium, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Volt, credo, se esse carum suis. Sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

nemo me lacrumis decoret, neque funera fletu
faxit.

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam immortalitas
74 consequatur. Iam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus, praesertim seni: post mortem quidem sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adulescentia debet esse, mortem ut neglegamus; sine qua meditatione tranquillo animo esse nemo potest. Moriendum enim certe est, et incertum an hoc ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis impen-
75 dentem timens qui poterit animo consistere? De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, cum re-

corder non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria est interfectus, non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt, non M. Atilium, qui ad supplicium est profectus ut fidem hosti datam conservaret, non duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt, non avum tuum L. Paulum, qui morte luit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem, non M. Marcellum, cuius interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in Originibus, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se redituras numquam arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adulescentes, et ei quidem non solum indocti sed etiam rustici contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent? Omnino, ut 76
mihi quidem videtur, rerum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae studia certa: num igitur ea desiderant adulescentes? Sunt ineuntis adulescentiae: num ea constans iam requirit aetas, quae media dicitur? Sunt etiam eius aetatis: ne ea quidem quaeruntur in senectute. Sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis: ergo, ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis; quod cum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum mortis affert.

XXI. Non enim video, cur, quid ipse sentiam de 77
morte, non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, P. Scipio tuque, C. Laeli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissimos, vivere arbitror et eam quidem vitam, quae est sola vita nominanda. Nam dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur; est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus

in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium. Sed credo deos immortalis sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas.

78 Audiebam Pythagoran Pythagoriosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea quae Socrates supremo vitae die de immortalitate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apollinis iudicatus. Quid multa? Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quae res eas contineat, esse mortalem; cumque semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus; et cum simplex animi natura esset neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi, quod si non posset, non posse interire; magnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod iam pueri, cum artis difficilis discant, ita celeriter res innumerabilis arripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari.

79 Haec Platonis fere. XXII. Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus maior haec dicit: 'nolite arbitrari, o mihi carissimi filii, me, cum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim, dum eram vobiscum, animum

meum videbatis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore ex eis
rebus quas gerebam intellegebatis. Eundem igitur esse
creditote, etiam si nullum videbitis. Nec vero clarorum 80
virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil
eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam
sui teneremus. Mihi quidem numquam persuaderi po-
tuit animos dum in corporibus essent mortalibus vivere,
cum excessissent ex eis emori; nec vero tum animum
esse insipientem cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset, sed
cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer
esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam, cum
hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum per-
spicuum est quo quaeque discedat, abeunt enim illuc
omnia, unde orta sunt; animus autem solus nec cum
adest nec cum discessit apparet. Iam vero videtis nihil
esse morti tam simile quam somnum. Atqui dormien- 81
tium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa
enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt; ex
quo intellegitur quales futuri sint, cum se plane corporis
vinculis relaxaverint. Qua re, si haec ita sunt, sic me
colitote,' inquit, 'ut deum, sin una est interiturus animus
cum corpore, vos tamen, deos verentes, qui hanc omnem
pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie
inviolateque servabitis.'

XXIII. Cyrus quidem haec moriens; nos, si placet, 82
nostra videamus. Nemo umquam mihi, Scipio, persua-
debit aut patrem tuum Paulum, aut duos avos Paulum
et Africanum, aut Africani patrem aut patruum, aut mul-
tos praestantis viros, quos enumerare non est necesse,
tanta esse conatos quae ad posteritatis memoriam per-
tinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad ipsos
pertinere. Anne censes, ut de me ipse aliquid more

senum glorier, me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si isdem finibus gloriam meam quibus vitam essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam et quietam aetatem sine ullo labore et contentione traducere? Sed nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi, cum excessisset e vita, tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime
83 ad immortalitatis gloriam niteretur. Quid quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo, nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci, ille autem, cuius obtusior sit acies, non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros quos colui et dilexi videndi, neque vero eos solum convenire aveo, quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam, de quibus audivi et legi et ipse conscripsi; quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quid facile retraxerit, nec tamquam Pelian recoxerit. Et si quis deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem, nec vero velim quasi
84 decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari. Quid habet enim vita commodi? Quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane; habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non libet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi et ei docti saepe fecerunt, neque me vixisse paenitet, quoniam ita vixi, ut non frustra me natum existimem, et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo; commorandi enim natura divorsorium nobis, non habitandi dedit. O praeclarum diem cum in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar cumque ex hac turba et colluvione discedam! Proficis-

car enim non ad eos solum viros, de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior, cuius a me corpus est crematum, quod contra decuit ab illo meum, animus vero non me deserens sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me ipse consolabar existimans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore.

His mihi rebus, Scipio, id enim te cum Laelio admi- 85
rari solere dixisti, levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta, sed etiam iucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum immortalis esse credam, libenter erro nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo; sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor ne hunc errorem meum philosophi mortui irrideant. Quod si non sumus immortales futuri, tamen exstingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura, ut aliarum omnium rerum, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cuius defetigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate.

Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem, ad quam utinam veniatis, ut ea, quae ex me audistis, re experti probare possitis!

NOTES TO CATO MAIOR.

CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE (CATO THE ELDER ON OLD AGE). CATO MAIOR was probably intended by Cicero as the principal title. He twice gives the work this name, in Laelius 4 and Att. 14, 21, 1. In the former passage he adds the descriptive words, addressed to Atticus, *qui est scriptus ad te de senectute*. In a third notice, De Div. 2, 3, he gives the description without the title, *liber is quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus*. It is likely that Cicero intended the essay to be known as the CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE, the full title corresponding with LAELIUS DE AMICITIA. The word *maior* was necessary to distinguish the book from Cicero's eulogy of the younger Cato (Uticensis), which seems to have gone by the name of CATO simply.

P. 1.—1. O Tite etc.: the lines are a quotation from the *Annales* of Q. Ennius (born at Rudiae in Calabria 239 B. C., died 169), an epic poem in hexameter verse, the first great Latin poem in that metre, celebrating the achievements of the Roman nation from the time of Aeneas to the poet's own days. The incident alluded to in Ennius' verses is evidently the same as that narrated by Livy 32, cc. 9, 10. Titus Quinctius Flamininus, who commanded in 198 B.C. the Roman army opposed to Philip of Macedon, found the king strongly posted on the mountains between Epirus and Thessaly. For forty days Flamininus lingered, hoping to find some path which would give him access to the enemy's quarters. A shepherd who knew every nook of the mountains came before the general, and promised to lead the Roman soldiers to the ground above Philip's camp. This was done, and

Flamininus drove the Macedonians into Thessaly. It is the shepherd who in the first line addresses Flamininus by his first name Titus. Cicero here cleverly applies the lines to his life-long friend Titus Pomponius Atticus. He several times takes the two words '*O Tite*' to designate the whole treatise; cf. Att. 16, 11, 3 '*O Tite*' *tibi prodesse laetor.* —— **quid**: accusative of respect or extent; so *nihil* in 30, *aliquid* in 82. A.* 240, *a*; G. 331, 3; H. 378, 2. —— **adiŭero**: for *adiūvero*, the long vowel having become short after the falling out of the *v* between the two vowels. Catullus 66, 18 has *iŭerint* at the end of a pentameter verse, and the same scanning is found in Plautus and Terence. A. 128, *a*; G. 151, 1; H. 235. —— **levasso**: a form of *levavero*, which was originally *levaveso*. For the formation of this class of future-perfects see Peile, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology*, p. 295, ed. 3; also Roby, *Gram.* 1, p. 199, who has a list of examples; he supports a different view from that given above; cf. A. 128, *e*, 3; G. 191, 5; H. 240, 4. —— **coquit**: 'vexes.' This metaphorical use of *coquere* occurs in poetry and late prose; cf. Plaut. Trin. 225 *egomet me coquo et macero et defetigo*; Verg. Aen. 7, 345 *quam . . . femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant*; Quint. 12, 10, 77 *sollicitudo oratorem macerat et coquit.* —— **versāt**: we have here the original quantity of the vowel preserved, as in *ponebāt* below, 10; the *a* in *versat* was originally as long as the *a* in *versās*. Plautus has some parallels to this scanning (see Corssen, Aussprache II^2, 488), but it is rarely imitated by poets of the best period. Horace, however, has *arāt*, Odes 3, 16, 26. A. 375, *g*, 5; H. 580, III. n. 2. —— **praemi**: the genitive in *ĭ-ī* from nouns in *ium* only began to come into use at the end of the Republic. A. 40, *b*; G. 29, Rem. 1; H. 51, 5. —— **isdem**: Cicero may have written *isdem* or *eisdem* (two syllables), but he probably did not write the form most commonly found in our texts, *iisdem*. H. p. 74, foot-note 2. —— **Flamininum**: T. Quinctius Flaminīnus first served against Hannibal during the Second Punic War. He was present at the capture of Tarentum in 209 B. C., and in 208 was military tribune under Marcellus. After being employed on minor business of state, he became quaestor in 199, and, immediately after his year of office, consul, passing over the aedileship and praetorship, and attaining the consulship at the extraordinarily early age of 30. In 197 he won the

* A. = Allen and Greenough's Grammar, Revised Ed.; G. = Gildersleeve's Grammar; H. = Harkness's Grammar, Rev. Ed. of 1881. In quoting from the works of Cicero reference is made to sections, not to chapters.

great victory of Cynoscephalae over the Macedonians, which ended the war. At the Isthmian games in the spring of 196 Flamininus made his famous proclamation of freedom to all the Greeks. He returned to Rome in 194 to enjoy a splendid triumph. For the rest of his life he was employed chiefly on diplomatic business concerning Greece and the East. One of his embassies was to Prusias, king of Bithynia, to call on him to surrender Hannibal, who was living at his court in advanced old age; this led to Hannibal's suicide. Flamininus was censor in 189 (see below, 42), and lived on till some time after 167, in which year he became augur; but the date of his death is unknown. He was a man of brilliant ability both as general and as diplomat, and also possessed much culture and was a great admirer of Greek literature. —— **ille vir** etc.: *i. e.* the shepherd mentioned in n. on line 1. Livy 32, 11, 4 says that Flamininus sent to the master of the shepherd, Charopus, an Epirote prince, to ask how far he might be trusted. Charopus replied that Flamininus might trust him, but had better keep a close watch on the operations himself. —— **haud magna cum re**: 'of no great property'; *re* = *re familiari*, as is often the case elsewhere in both verse and prose. Cf. pro Caelio 78 *hominem sine re*. *Cum* is literally 'attended by'; it is almost superfluous here, since *vir haud magna re* would have had just the same meaning. Madvig, Gram. § 258 has similar examples. —— **plenus**: final *s* was so lightly pronounced that the older poets felt justified in neglecting it in their scanning. It was probably scarcely pronounced at all by the less educated Romans, since it is often wholly omitted in inscriptions, and has been lost in modern Italian. Cicero, Orator 161, says that the neglect to pronounce final *s* is 'somewhat boorish' (*subrusticum*), though formerly thought 'very refined' (*politius*). Even Lucretius sometimes disregards it in his scanning. In the ordinary literary Latin a large number of words has lost an original *s*; *e. g.* all the nouns of the *-a* declension. A. 375, *a*; G. 722; H. 608, 1, n. 3. —— **fideī**: this form of the genitive of *fides* is found also in Plautus, Aulularia 575, and Lucretius 5, 102. *Fidĕi* as genitive seems only to occur in late poets, but as dative it is found in a fragment of Ennius. *Fidē* as genitive occurs in Horace and Ovid. H. 585, III. 1; Roby, 357, (*c*). —— **quamquam**: see n. on 2 *etsi*. —— **sollicitari** etc.: Cicero probably has not quoted the line as Ennius wrote it. The word *sic*, at least, is evidently inserted on purpose to correspond with *ut* before *Flamininum*. —— **noctesque diesque**: the use of *que* ... *que* for *et* ... *et* is

almost entirely poetical, Sallust being the only prose writer of the best period in whose works the usage is beyond doubt. *Noctes* is put before *dies* here, as in *noctes diesque* (Verr. 5, 112), *noctes et dies* (Brut. 308 *etc.*), *noctes ac dies* (Arch. 29); cf. also Verg. Aen. 6, 127; and *νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ* in Iliad 5, 490; but the collocations *dies noctesque*, *dies et noctes* are far commoner in Cicero. Madvig (Emend. Liv. p. 487 n., ed. 2) says that in writers of Livy's time and earlier, when an action is mentioned which continues throughout a number of days and nights, either *dies et noctes* and the like phrases are used, or *die et nocte* and the like; but not *diem noctemque* or *diem et noctem*, which expression, he says, would imply that the action continued only throughout *one* day and *one* night. But Madvig has overlooked De Or. 2, 162 *eandem incudem diem noctemque tundentibus*; also three passages of Caesar: viz. Bell. Gall. 7, 42, 6 and 7, 77, 11; Bell. Civ. 1, 62, 1; to which add a passage in the Bell. Hisp. 38. Though *diem noctemque* does often mean 'throughout *one* day and *one* night' (as *e.g.* in Nep. Them. 8, 7), yet it would seem that the other sense cannot be excluded.—— **moderationem . . . aequitatem**: 'the self-control and even balance of your mind'. *Moderatio* is in Cic. a common translation of *σωφροσύνη*. *Aequitas* is not used here in its commonest sense of 'reasonableness' or 'equity', but as the noun corresponding to *aequus* in the ordinary phrase *aequus animus* (Horace, '*aequam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem*'); cf. Tusc. 1, 97 *hanc maximi animi aequitatem in ipsa morte*, said of Theramenes' undisturbed composure before his execution.—— **animi tui**: for the position of these words between *moderationem* and *aequitatem*, to both of which nouns they refer (a form of speech called by the Latin grammarians *coniunctio*), see note on Laelius 8 *cum summi viri tum amicissimi*.—— **cognomen**: *i. e.* the name *Atticus*, which Cicero's friend did not inherit, but adopted. For the word *cognomen* cf. n. on 5.—— **deportasse**: it should be noted that the verb *deportare* is nearly always in the best writers used of bringing things from the provinces to Italy or Rome, and not *vice versa*, the Romans using 'down' (*de*) of motion towards the capital. *Italia deportare* occurs in Tacitus and late writers, but only in the sense of banishing a person (cf. Ann. 14, 45). So *decedere de provincia* is common, but not *Roma decedere*. As to the form *deportasse*, it may be remarked that Cic. in the vast majority of instances uses the contracted and not the full forms of the infinitives corresponding to perfects in *-avi*. So *putassent* in 4. An extensive collection of examples

of this and similar contractions may be found in Frohwein, Die Perfectbildungen auf -vi bei Cicero; Gera, 1874. —— **humanitatem**: 'culture'; *i. e.* learning resulting in gentleness and refinement of character. —— **prudentiam**: φρόνησιν or practical wisdom. Corn. Nepos (or his imitator) in his life of Atticus 17, 3 says of him *principum philosophorum ita percepta habuit praecepta ut his ad vitam agendam non ad ostentationem uteretur.* —— **isdem rebus**: *i. e.* the state of public affairs at the time; see Introd. —— **quibus me ipsum**: strictly speaking the construction is inaccurate, since *suspicor commoveri* must be supplied, and Cicero does not really mean to say that he merely *conjectures* himself to be seriously affected by the state of public affairs; *ego ipse commoveor* would have accurately expressed his meaning. The accusative is due to the attraction of *te* above. —— **maior** = *difficilior* as often; *e. g.* Lael. 29 *quod maius est.* —— **visum est mihi conscribere**: = *placuit mihi*, 'I have determined to write'. The best writers rarely use the impersonal *videtur etc.* followed by an infinitive. When the usage occurs *videtur mihi etc.* generally have the meaning (as here) of δοκεῖ μοι κ. τ. λ. = 'I have made up my mind'. Cf. Tusc. 5, 12 *Non mihi videtur ad beate vivendum satis posse virtutem;* ib. 5, 22 (a curious passage) *mihi enim non videbatur quisquam esse beatus posse cum esset in malis; in malis autem s a p i e n t e m e s s e p o s s e;* Off. 3, 71 *malitia quae volt illa quidem videri se esse prudentiam* ('craft which desires that people should believe it to be wisdom'); Liv. 1, 10, 7 *dis visum nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse* ... ('the gods decided that the word of the founder of the shrine should not remain of no effect'). It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a passage in a writer before silver Latin times where the best texts still exhibit anything like *videtur eum facere* for *is videtur facere.* H. 534, 1, n. 1; Roby, 1353. —— **aliquid ad te**: 'some work dedicated to you'; so below, 3; cf. also Lael. 4 *ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid;* ib. *Catone maiore qui est scriptus ad te de senectute;* Div. 2, 3 *liber is quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus.*

2. aut ... aut certe: so often in Cic.; *certe*, 'at any rate'. —— **senectutis**: at the time the words were written Cic. was 62 years old, Atticus three years older. For the meaning of *senectus* see n. on 4. —— **levari volo**: the best Latin writers frequently use the passive infinitive after verbs expressing desire, where moderns would incline to the active; here Cic. instead of saying 'I wish to relieve yourself

and me of the burden' says 'I wish yourself and me to be relieved'. —— **etsi**: = καίτοι 'and yet'. This use of *etsi* to introduce a clause correcting the preceding clause, though not uncommon (*e. g.* below 29; Tusc. 1, 99; 3, 17; 4, 63; 5, 55), is far less common than that of *quamquam*, which we have in 1, 9, 10, 24, 47, 67, 69. —— **te quidem**: 'you at all events', 'you for one'. —— **modice ac sapienter**: *modice* recalls *moderationem* above (*modice* and *moderate* are used with exactly the same sense by Cic.), while *sapienter* recalls *aequitatem*, since *sapientia* produces stability and an even balance of the mind. In De Or. 1, 132 we have *modice et scienter.* —— **sicut omnia**: cf. Fin. 1, 7 *facete is quidem sicut alia;* also below, 65 *sicut alia.* —— **et ferre et laturum esse**: Tischer rightly remarks that when a verb is repeated thus with a variation of tense Cic. very nearly always uses *et...et*, and not a single *et* merely. The contrast between the two tenses is thus made more pointed. Cf. 3 *et diximus et dicemus.* —— **certo scio**: one of the best MSS., followed by some editors, has here *certe scio.* The latter phrase would mean 'I am sure that I know' (a sense which seems out of place here); the former 'I have certain or sure knowledge'. Observe that *certe* may be used with all verbs, while *certo* is only used with *scire.* A. 151, *c.* —— **sed**: the idea implied is, 'but though I well know you do not need such consolation, I have yet resolved to address my book to you'. —— **occurrebas dignus**: a condensed construction for *occurrebat te dignum esse.*

P. 2. — munere...uteretur: 'a gift such as we both might make use of in company'. —— **mihi quidem**: this forms a correction upon *uterque nostrum* above: 'whatever you may think of the work, *I at least* have found the writing of it pleasant'. —— **confectio**: 'composition'; 'completion'; a word scarcely found in the classical Latin except in Cicero's writings. Cf. De Or. 2, 52 *annalium confectio;* pro. Font. 3 *confectio tabularum* ('account-books'). —— **fuit ut absterserit**: the sequence of tenses *fuit ut abstergeret* would have been equally admissible, but the meaning would have been slightly different. With the perfect the sense is 'was so pleasant that it *has* wiped away'; with the imperfect 'was so pleasant that it *did* (while I was writing) wipe away'. The metaphor in *absterserit* is common: *e. g.* Tusc. 3, 43 *luctum omnem absterseris.* With this statement of Cicero's concerning the effect the work had on himself contrast Att. 14, 21, 3 *legendus mihi saepius est Cato maior ad te missus. A m a r i o r e m enim m e s e n e c t u s f a c i t. Stomachor omnia.* —— **omnis**: acc.

pl. A. 55, *e*; G. 60, 1; H. 67.—— **effecerit mollem**: so 56 *poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucundam senectutem;* but 56 *conditiora facit haec aucupium. Efficio* gives more emphatically than *facio* the idea of the completion of the action. Cf. Lael. 73 *efficere aliquem consulem*, 'to carry through a man's election as consul'; *facere aliquem consulem* being merely 'to vote for a man's election to the consulship'. —— **satis digne**: 'as she deserves', lit. 'in a sufficiently worthy manner'. Some editors have thought *digne* superfluous and wished to cast it out, but we have *satis digne* elsewhere, as in Verr. Act. II. 1, 82; cf. also Sex. Rosc. 33 *pro dignitate laudare satis commode.* —— **qui pareat...degere**: a conditional sentence of irregular form (*qui* = *siquis; cui*, simply connective, = *et ei*). Cf. Div. 1, 127 *qui enim teneat causas rerum futurarum, idem necesse est omnia teneat quae futura sint;* also the examples in Roby's Grammar, 1558. A. 310, *a*, 307, *b*; G. 594, 1, 598; H. 507, II. and III. 2. Some, however, make *possit* a subjunctive of characteristic or of cause with *cui*, and *pareat* a subjunctive by attraction. —— **omne tempus aetatis**: 'every season of life'; so in 55 *extremum tempus aetatis;* 70 *breve tempus aetatis.* The opposite phrase *aetas temporis* is very rare; it occurs in Propertius 1, 4, 7.

3. ceteris: neuter adjective used as a noun, equivalent to *ceteris rebus* 'the other matters'; *i. e.* the political troubles hinted at above. The best writers do not often use the neuter adjective as noun in the *oblique* cases unless there is something in the context to show the gender clearly, as in 24 *aliis...eis quae;* we have, however, below in 8, *isto* = *ista re;* 72, *reliquum;* 77, *caelestium* = *rerum caelestium;* and in 78, *praeteritorum futurorumque;* see other instances in n. on Lael. 50 *similium.* The proleptic or anticipatory use of *ceteris* should also be noticed; its sense is not fully seen till we come to *hunc librum;* the same use occurs below in 4, 5, 59, 60; so *aliis* in 24; cf. also n. on Lael. 7 *reliqua.* —— **diximus...dicemus**: when a clause or phrase consists of four parts, which go in pairs (as here *diximus, dicemus* on one side, and *multa, saepe* on the other), the Latins frequently arrange the words so as to put one pair between the two members of the other pair, as here. This usage is called by grammarians *chiasmus.* Thus if we denote the four parts by AA', BB', *chiasmus* requires the order $ABB'A'$ or $BAA'B'$. See examples in 8, 20, 22, 38, 44, 71. For the more complicated forms of chiasmus consult Nägelsbach, Stil. §§ 167, 169. A. 344, *f*; G. 684; H. 562. —— **librum...misimus**: observe the omission of a particle at the begin-

ning of the clause; the contrast between *ceteris* and *hunc librum* is made stronger by the omission. For this *asyndeton adversativum* see n. on Lael. 5 *Laelium ... putes*. For tense of *misimus*, 'I send', see A. 282; G. 244; H. 472, 1. —— **omnem**: see n. on 62. —— **tribuimus**: perfect tense like *misimus*. —— **Tithono ... Aristo**: see Introd. —— **Cius**: Greek Κεῖος (a native of Ceos), not to be confused with Χῖος (a native of Chios), or Κῷος (a native of Cos). Cicero generally denotes the Greek diphthong ει by *ī* not *ē*. This Aristo was a Peripatetic. —— **parum ... auctoritatis**: observe how often Cicero takes trouble to separate words which are, grammatically, closely connected. So above, *omnis ... molestias*; 7 *multorum ... senectutem*; 9 *mirificos ... fructus*; 21 *civium ... nomina*; 33 *minus ... virium*; 53 *multo ... fecundior*; etc. etc. See also n. on 15 *quam sit iusta*. A. 344, *c*, *d*, *e*; H. 561, III. —— **esset**: condition omitted. A. 311; G. 602; H. 510. —— **maiorem auctoritatem**: cf. Lael. 4. —— **apud quem**: 'at whose house'; so 55 *a me*, 'from my house'. A. 153; G. 417; H. 446, n. 4. —— **Laelium ... Scipionem**: see Introd. —— **facimus admirantis**: 'we represent as expressing astonishment'. For *facere*, in this sense, Cic. more often uses *inducere* 'to bring on the stage', as in Lael. 4 *Catonem induxi senem disputantem*. Cf. however 54 *Homerus Laerten colentem agrum facit*; also Brut. 218; Orat. 85. Instead of *facimus* we might have expected either *fecimus* to correspond with *misimus* and *tribuimus* above, or *faciemus* to correspond with *videbitur* below. On the use of the participle see A. 292, *e*; G. 536; H. 535, I. 4. —— **eruditius disputare**: Cic. not infrequently in his dialogues makes people talk with more learning than they really possessed. He several times confesses this as regards Lucullus and Catulus in the Academica, and as regards Antonius in the De Oratore. —— **ferat**: subjunctive because embodying the sentiment of Laelius and Scipio Roby, 1744; Madvig, 357; H. 516, II. —— **suis libris** etc.: for the allusions here to Cato's life, works, and opinions see Introd. —— **quid opus est plura?** *sc. dicere*: cf. the elliptic phrases *quid multa? sc. dicam* in 78; also below, 10 *praeclare*. A. 206, *c*; H. 368, 3, n. 2.

4. saepe numero soleo: 'it is my frequent custom'. *Numero* is literally 'by the count or reckoning', and in *saepe numero* had originally the same force as in *quadraginta numero* and the like; but the phrase came to be used merely as a slight strengthening of *saepe*. —— **cum hoc ... cum ceterarum**: the use of *cum* in different senses in the same clause, which seems awkward, is not uncommon; cf. below, 67

The spelling *quum* was certainly not used by Cicero, and probably by no other Latin writer of the best period. H. 311, foot-note 4. It is worth remarking that *cum* the conjunction and *cum* the preposition, though spelt alike, are by origin quite distinct. The former is derived from the pronominal stem *ka* or *kva*, and is cognate with *qui*; the latter comes from the root *sak* 'to follow', and is cognate with Gk. σύν, Lat. *sequor*, etc. See Vaniček, Etymologisches Wörterbuch, pp. 96, 984. —— **rerum ... sapientiam**: 'wisdom *in* affairs'; the objective genitive. —— **excellentem**: in sense much stronger than our 'excellent'; *excellentem perfectamque* 'pre-eminent and indeed faultless'. —— **quod ... senserim**: this clause takes the place of an object to *admirari*. The subjunctive is used because the speaker reports his own reason for the wonder, formerly felt, as if according to the views of another person, and without affirming his holding the same view at the time of speaking. Madvig, 357, *a*, Obs. 1. A. 341, *d*, Rem. —— **odiosa**: this word is not so strong as our 'hateful', but rather means 'wearisome', 'annoying'. In Plautus the frequent expression *odiosus es* means, in colloquial English, 'you bore me'. Cf. 47 *odiosum et molestum*; 65 *odiosa offensio*. —— **onus Aetna gravius**: a proverbial expression with an allusion to Enceladus, who, after the defeat of the Giants by Juppiter, was said to have been imprisoned under Mt. Aetna. Cf. Eurip. Hercules Furens, 637; also Longfellow's poem, Enceladus. —— **haud sane difficilem**: 'surely far from difficult'; cf. 83 *haud sane facile*. —— **quibus**: a *dativus commodi*, 'those for whom there is no aid in themselves'. Cf. Lael. 79 *quibus in ipsis*. —— **bene beateque vivendum**: 'a virtuous and happy life'; 'virtue and happiness'; so *bene honesteque* below, 70. —— **qui ... petunt**: these are the αὐτάρκεις, men sufficient for themselves, '*in se toti teretes atque rotundi*'. We have here a reminiscence of the Stoic doctrine about the wise man, whose happiness is quite independent of everything outside himself, and is caused solely by his own virtue. Cicero represents the same Stoic theory in Lael. 7. Cf. Juv. Sat. 10, 357–362; also Seneca, De Cons. Sap. VIII., De Prov. I. 5. —— **a se ipsi**: 'themselves from themselves,' so in 78 *se ipse moveat ... se ipse relicturus sit*; 84 *me ipse consolabar*. Expressions like *a se ipsis* are quite uncommon in Cicero. Cf. n. on Lael. 5 *te ipse cognosces*; also see below, 38 *se ipsa*; 78 *se ipse*. —— **naturae necessitas**: 'the inevitable conditions of nature'. Cf. 71 *quid est tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori?* —— **afferat**: subjunctive because *nihil quod* = *nihil tale ut*. A. 320.

a; G. 633, 634; H. 503, I. —— **quo in genere**: *sc. rerum;* with this phrase the defining genitive is commonly omitted by Cicero. So below, 45 *in eo genere.* —— **ut . . . adeptam**: notice the chiasmus. —— **eandem**: *idem* is used in the same way, to mark an emphatic contrast, in 24, 52, 68, 71. —— **adeptam**: this is probably the only example in Cicero of the passive use of *adeptus*, which occurs in Sallust, Ovid, Tacitus, etc.; and in this passage the use cannot be looked on as certain, since, one of the very best and several of the inferior MSS. read *adepti.* Cicero, however, uses a good many deponent participles in a passive sense (cf. below, 59 *dimensa;* 74 *meditatum;* see also a list, Roby, 734), and some of them occur very rarely. Thus *periclitatus*, *arbitratus*, *depastus* as passives are found each in only one passage. —— **inconstantia**: 'instability', 'inconsistency'. *Constantia*, unwavering firmness and consistency, is the characteristic of the wise man; cf. Acad. 2, 23 *sapientia . . . quae ex sese habeat constantiam;* also Lael. 8 and 64.

P. 8. — **aiunt**: *sc. stulti.* —— **putassent**: the subjunctive is due to the indirect discourse. Where we say 'I should not have thought,' the Latins say, in direct narration, '*non putaram*,' *i. e.* 'I never had thought' (so Off. 1, 81 and often in Cicero's letters). Translate, 'more quickly than they had ever expected'. Cf. Att. 6, 1, 6 *accipiam equi dem dolorem mihi illum irasci sed multo maiorem non esse eum talem qualem putassem.* See Zumpt, Gram., 518. —— **falsum putare**: 'to form a mistaken judgment'. For *falsum* as noun equivalent to ψεῦδος, cf. 6 *gratissimum;* also n. on 3 *ceteris.* —— **qui citius**: lit. 'in what way quicker'; cf. Tusc. 5, 89 *qui melius.* H. 188, II. 2. —— **adulescentia . . . senectus . . . pueritia**: boyhood was generally at Rome supposed to last till the 17th year (the time for assuming the *toga virilis* and for beginning military service). *Iuventus* is usually the age from 17 to 45, during which men were liable to be called on for active service. Ordinarily, in colloquial language, *adulescentia* is the earlier portion of *iuventus*, say the years from 17 to 30 (cf. 33), but Cicero seems here to make *adulescentia* co-extensive with *iuventus.* From 45 to 60 is the *aetas seniorum*, the period during which citizens in early Rome might be called out for the defence of the city, but not for active service. *Senectus* was commonly reckoned as beginning at 60; but in § 60 Cicero includes in *senectus* the *aetas seniorum*, and probably intended to include it here. In Tusc. 1, 34 Cic. reckons three ages *pueritia adulescentia senectus* as here; below in 74, four periods, or five.

—— **quamvis**: = *quantumvis.* —— **effluxisset**: subjunctive because of the mood of *posset*, to which it stands in subordinate relation. *Cum* here is purely temporal. See Roby, 1778; A. 342; G. 666; H. 529, II. —— **posset**: see n. on *esset* above, 3.

5. si...soletis...sumus: the apodosis and protasis do not strictly correspond; the sense really required is 'if that wisdom for which you admire me does exist, it lies in this', etc. —— **utinam... esset**: *esset* here gives a greater appearance of modesty than would have been expressed by *sit*: 'would it were, as it certainly is not'. A. 267; G. 253; H. 483, 2. —— **cognomine**: Cato bore the title *sapiens* even in his lifetime; see Introd. *Cognomen* is used in good Latin to denote both the family name and the acquired by-name; in late Latin this latter is denoted by *agnomen.* —— **in hoc sapientes**: but above, 4 *rerum sapientiam*, not *in rebus.* The genitive construction is not found with *sapiens* used as noun or adjective till late Latin times. —— **naturam ducem** etc.: Cato's claim to the title of *sapiens* does not rest on any deep knowledge of philosophy, but on practical wisdom or common sense and experience in affairs. Cf. Lael. 6 and 19. In this passage Cicero has put into Cato's mouth phrases borrowed from the Stoic philosophy, which declared the life of virtue to be life in accordance with nature (*naturae convenienter vivere* or ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν). Cf. 71, n. on *secundum naturam.* —— **tamquam deum**: observe *deum* not *deam*, because nature is compared with, and not identified with, a divine being. Cf. Fin. 5, 43 *eam* (*rationem*) *quasi deum ducem subsequens.* —— **aetatis**: here = *vitae*, life as a whole. Cf. 2 *omne tempus aetatis* and n.; also 13 *aetatis...senectus*; 33, 64, 82. —— **descriptae**: 'composed'; literally 'written out'. The reading *discriptae*, which many editions give, does not so well suit the passage. *Discribere* is to map out, plan, arrange, put in order (see 59 *discripta* and *discriptio*); the point here lies, however, not in the due arrangement of the different scenes of a play, but in the careful working out of each scene. *Ab ea* must be supplied after *descriptae* from *a qua* above. —— **actum**: the common comparison of life with a drama is also found in 64, 70, 85. —— **inerti**: the sense of 'ignorant', 'inartistic' (*in*, *ars*), has been given to this by some editors (cf. Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 126 *praetulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri*, and Cic. Fin. 2, 115 *artes, quibus qui carebant, inertes a maioribus nominabantur*), but the meaning 'inactive', 'lazy', 'slovenly' seems to suit *neglectum* better. —— **poeta**: nature is here the dramatist, the drama is life, the

actors are human beings. —— **sed tamen** etc.: 'but for all that it was inevitable that there should be something with the nature of an end.' So 69 *in quo est aliquid extremum*; 43 *aliquid pulchrum*. —— **arborum bacis**: the word *baca* (the spelling *bacca* has little or no authority) is applied to all fruits growing on bushes or trees; cf. Tusc. 1, 31 *arbores seret diligens agricola, quarum aspiciet bacam ipse numquam*. —— **terraeque fructibus**: here = cereals, roots, vegetables, and small fruits. No sharp distinction can be drawn between *fruges* and *fructus* (*e. g.* in Div. 1, 116 we have *fruges terrae bacasve arborum*), though *fructus* as commonly used is the more general word of the two. —— **maturitate ... caducum**: 'a time of senility, so to speak, and readiness to drop, that comes of a seasonable ripeness'. *Vietus* is literally 'twisted' or 'bent', being originally the passive participle of *viere*. The comparison of old age with the ripeness of fruit recurs in 71. Cf. Plin. Ep. 5, 14, 5 *non tam aetatis maturitate quam vitae*. —— **ferundum**: the form in *-undus* is archaic, and generally used by Cic. in quoting or imitating passages of laws, sacred formulae, and the like. H. 239. —— **molliter**: here 'gently', 'with resignation'; though *molliter ferre* often has another meaning, viz. to bear pain or trouble in an *unmanly* fashion. Cf. *facillime ferre* below. —— **quid est aliud** etc.: The words perhaps imply the rationalistic explanation of myths which the Greeks had begun to teach to the Romans during Cato's lifetime. Trans. 'what else but resistance to nature is equivalent to warring against the gods', and *not* 'what else does warring with the gods mean but to resist nature'. In comparisons of this sort the Latins generally put the things compared in a different order from that required by English idiom. Thus in Div. 2, 78 *quid est aliud nolle moneri a Iove nisi efficere ut aut ne fieri possit auspicium aut, si fiat, videri*; S. Rosc. 54 *quid est aliud iudicio ac legibus ac maiestate vestra abuti ad quaestum ac libidinem, nisi hoc modo accusare*; Phil. 1, 22; 2, 7; 5, 5; 10, 5. —— **Gigantum modo**: see n. on 4 *Aetna gravius*. —— **dis**: for the form *dis* see n. on 25.

6. atqui: in the best Latin *atqui* does not introduce a statement *contradicting* the preceding statement, but one that *supplements* it. Here it may be translated 'True, but'. Cf. 66, 81. —— **gratissimum**: equivalent to *rem gratissimam*. With the thought cf. Rep. 1, 34 *gratum feceris si explicaris*; Lael. 16 *pergratum feceris si disputaris*. —— **ut ... pollicear**: so Acad. 1, 33 *nos vero volumus, ut pro Attico respondeam*; Brut. 122 *nobis vero placet, ut pro Bruto etiam re*

spondeam; Lael. 32 *tu vero perge; pro hoc enim respondeo.* A. 317, *c*; H. 499, 2, n. —— **senes fieri**: if the infinitive had depended on *speramus* alone and *volumus* had not intervened, Cicero would probably have written *nos futuros esse senes.* —— **multo ante**: *sc. quam id factum erit:* so Balb. 41 *re denique multo ante* (*sc. quam factum est*) *audita,* and very often in Cicero. —— **didicerimus**: as this corresponds with *feceris,* it would have been formally correct to write here *nos docueris.* —— **quibus... possimus**: 'what considerations will enable us most easily to support the growing burden of age'. —— **futurum est** = μέλλει εἶναι: this form of the future is used in preference to the simple *erit* because it is desired to represent the event as *on the very point of fulfilment,* and therefore sure of fulfilment. *Erit* would have implied much less certainty. Trans. 'I will do so, if my action *is going to give* you pleasure'. Cf. 67 *beatus futurus sum;* also 81, 85. See Roby, 1494. —— **nisi molestum est**: a common expression of courtesy, like 15 *nisi alienum putas, si placet;* cf. Hor. Sat. 2, 8, 4 *si grave non est.* —— **tamquam longam viam**: Cicero here puts into Laelius' mouth almost the very words addressed by Socrates to the aged Cephalus in the introduction to Plato's Republic, 328 E. Observe the succession of similar sounds in t*am*qu*am*, aliqu*am*, long*am*, vi*am*. —— **viam confeceris**: so pro Quint. 79 *conficere* DCC *milia passuum; conficere iter* is a common phrase. For mood see A. 312; G. 604; H. 513, II. —— **quam... ingrediundum sit**: this construction, the neuter of the gerundive with *est* followed by an accusative case, is exceedingly rare excepting in two writers, Lucretius and Varro. See the full list of examples given by Roby, Gram., Pref. to vol. 2, p. LXXII. A. 294, *c*; H. 371, I. 2, 2), n. The best texts of Cicero now give only one example of a construction at all resembling this, viz. pro Scauro 13 *obliviscendum vobis putatis matrum in liberos, virorum in uxores scelera?* The supposition of some scholars, that in this passage Cic. used the construction in imitation of the archaic style of Cato, is not likely to be true, seeing that in Cato's extant works the construction does not once occur. For the form *-undum* see n. on 5 *ferundum.* —— **istuc**: not adverb, but neuter pronoun, as in 8. The kind of construction, *istuc videre quale sit* for *videre quale istuc sit,* is especially common in Cicero.

7. faciam ut potero: 'I will do it as well as I can'. Observe the future *potero* where English idiom would require a present. So Rep. 1, 38 *hic Scipio, faciam quod voltis, ut potero.* —— **saepe enim**:

enim introduces a reason, not for the words *ut potero*, but for *faciam*: —'I will grant your request because I have often heard complaints about old age and therefore have thought of the matter'. —— **pares autem** etc.: parenthetical. —— **vetere proverbio**: the saying is as old as Homer, Od. 17, 218 *ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον*; cf. also Plat., Rep. 329 A, Symp. 195 B, Phaedr. 240 C.

P. 4. — **facillime**: 'most cheerfully', 'most eagerly'; a common meaning of the word in Cic., *e. g.* Fam. 2, 16, 2 *in maritimis facillime sum*, *i. e.* 'I find most pleasure in staying by the sea'. —— **quae**: a kind of explanation of *querellis*: —'lamentations, viz. such utterances as' etc.; see n. on Lael. 14 *quae*; cf. Fam. 2, 8, 2 *sermonibus de re publica.... quae nec possunt scribi nec scribenda sunt.* A. 199, *b*; G. 616, 3, I.; H. 445, 5. —— **C. Salinator**: probably C. Livius Salinator, praetor in 191 B. C. (Livy 35, 24), who was entrusted with the equipment of the Roman fleets during the war against Antiochus. He was born about 230, and was therefore a little younger than Cato; cf. *fere aequales* below. Salinator was consul in 188, and died in 170. For the name Salinator cf. n. on 11. —— **Sp. Albinus**: Sp. Postumius Albinus was consul in 186, and was with his colleague appointed to investigate the great Bacchanalian conspiracy of that year (Livy 39, cc. 1 seq.). Albinus died in 180. He was probably a little younger than Salinator. He can scarcely have been fifty years of age at his death. —— **tum ... tum**: 'now ... again'; so in 45. —— **carerent**: see n. on 3 *ferat*. —— **vitam nullam putarent**: 'they considered life to be not life at all'. For *vitam nullam* cf. Lael. 86 *sine amicitia vitam esse nullam*; also the Greek phrase *βίος ἀβίωτος*; and below, 77 *vitam quae est sola vita nominanda*; also 82. A. 239; H. 373, 1, n. 2. *Putarent* = 'thought, as they said'. —— **id quod esset accusandum**: the subjunctive *esset* is used because a *class* of things is referred to, 'nothing of a nature to deserve complaint'; *id quod erat*, etc. would have meant merely 'that one thing which was matter for complaint'. A. 320; G. 634, Rem. 1; H. 503, I. —— **usu venirent**: the phrase *usu venire* differs very little in meaning from *accidere*. *Usu* is commonly explained as an ablative ('in practice', 'in experience'), but is quite as likely to be a dative of the sort generally called predicative ('to come as matter of experience'); cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 22 *venire excidio*; Plin. N. H. 28, 106 *odio*; Caes. B. G. 5, 27 *subsidio*. —— **quorum ... multorum**: the first genitive is dependent on the second, so that *quorum* = *e quibus*. Notice the separation of *quorum* from

multorum, and of *multorum* from *senectutem*. —— **sine querella**: attribute of *senectutem*. A. 217, Rem.; H. 359, n. 1, 4), and n. 3. This form of attributive phrase, consisting of a preposition with a noun, is common; cf. 24 *ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos*; 40 *cum hostibus clandestina colloquia*. *Querella* is better spelling than *querela*. See Roby, 177, 2. —— **qui**: 'men of such nature as to...' —— **et...nec**: Roby, 2241. The reason for the departure from the ordinary sequence of particles lies in the words *non moleste*. *Nec...et* is common; see 51, 53. —— **libidinum vinculis etc.**: Cic. is here thinking of the conversation between Socrates and Cephalus in Plato, Rep. 329 D, for which see Introd. —— **moderati**: 'self-controlled'; cf. n. on 1 *moderationem*; *difficiles*, 'peevish'; *inhumani*, 'unkindly'; *importunitas*, 'perversity'. *Importunitas* seems to be used as the substantive corresponding in sense with the adjective *difficilis*. *Difficultas*, in the sense of 'peevishness', probably occurs only in Mur. 19.

8. dixerit quispiam: 'some one will say presently'; a gentle way of introducing one's own objection. The mood of *dixerit* is probably indicative, not subjunctive; see the thorough discussion in Roby, Gram., Vol. 2, Pref., p. CIV. *et seq.* —— **opes et copias**: 'resources and means'. *Opes* has a wider meaning than *copias* (mere material wealth) and includes all sources of power, influence, and authority as well as wealth. Thus in Lael. 22 the end of *divitiae* is said to be enjoyment; of *opes*, worship (*opes ut colare*). *Dignitas* is social position. —— **id**: remark the singular pronoun, which indicates that the preceding clause is now taken as conveying one idea. Trans. 'such fortune'. —— **contingere**: 'to fall to one's lot' is the phrase in English which most closely represents *contingere*. This verb is not, as is often assumed, used merely of *good* fortune; it implies in itself nothing concerning the *character* of events, whether they be good or bad, but simply that the events take place *naturally* and were to be expected. See n. on Lael. 8, where the word is distinctly used in connection with *bad* fortune, as it is, strikingly, in 71 below. —— **est...omnia**: 'your statement indeed amounts to something, but it by no means comprises every consideration'. The phrase *esse aliquid*, 'to be of some importance', is often used by Cic. both of things and of persons; cf. Tusc. 5, 104 *eos aliquid esse*, also n. on 17 *nihil afferunt*. So *esse aliquis* of persons, as in the well-known passage of Iuvenal, 1, 72 *aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum si vis esse aliquis*. For the general sense cf. Tusc. 3, 52 *est id quidem magnum, sed non sunt in hoc omnia*;

so De Or. 2, 215; ib. 3, 221; Leg. 2, 24 *in quo sunt omnia.* —— **isto**: the use of the neuter pronoun in the oblique case as substantive is noticeable. —— **Themistocles etc.**: Cicero borrows the story from Plato (Rep. 329 E *et seq.*), but it was first told by Herodotus, 8, 125 who gave a somewhat different version. Themistocles had received great honors at Sparta when Athenian ambassador there; an envious man declaring that the honors were paid really to Athens and not to Themistocles, the statesman answered οὔτ' ἂν ἐγώ, ἐὼν Βελβινίτης (*i. e.* an inhabitant of the small island of Belbina lying to the S. of Cape Sunium) ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὔτ' ἂν σύ, ἄνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος. —— **Seriphio**: Seriphus is a small island belonging to the Cyclad group and lying almost due N. of Melos, and due E. of the Scyllaean promontory. Seriphus is often taken by ancient writers as a specimen of an insignificant community (*e. g.* Aristoph. Acharn. 542; Cic. N. D. 1, 88), but it had the honor of being one of the three island states which refused to give earth and water to the Persian envoys, the other two being the adjacent islands of Melos and Siphnus (Herodotus, 8, 46). —— **iurgio**: *iurgium* is a quarrel which does not go beyond words; *rixa* a quarrel where the disputants come to blows. —— **si ego**: but further on, *tu si.* The contrast wouid certainly be more perfect if *ego si* were read, as has been proposed, in place of *si ego.* —— **quod eodem modo ... dici**: Cic. commonly says *quod ita dicendum* and the like; see n. on 35 *quod ni ita fuisset.* Cato means that just as Themistocles' success was due to two things, his own character and his good fortune, so two things are necessary to make old age endurable, viz. moderate fortune and wisdom. He then in 9 insists that of these two conditions wisdom is far the more important. —— **nec ... levis ... nec ... non gravis**: notice the chiasmus.

9. omnino: here = παντάπασι 'undoubtedly', in a strongly affirmative sense, as in 76; but in 28 (where see n.) it is concessive. —— **cum diu multumque vixeris**: literally 'when you have lived long and much', *i. e.* when you have not only had a long life but have done a great deal in the course of it. The phrases *diu multumque*, *multum et diu* are common in Cic., as below, 38; Acad. 1, 4; Div. 2, 1; Off. 1, 118; Leg. Agr. 2, 88; De Or. 1, 152. For mood see A. 309, *a*; H. 518, 2. —— **ecferunt**: *ecferunt* for *efferunt* (*ec* = *ex* = *ecs*; so ἐκ = ἐξ = ἐκς) was old-fashioned in Cicero's time, but forms of the sort, as below, 39 *ecfrenate*, according to the evidence of the best MSS., occur in a good many passages. See Neue, Formenlehre, Vol. 2, pp. 766

seq., ed. 2. —— **numquam deserunt**: the omission of the object after *deserunt* is not common. With the general sense of this passage cf. Arch. 16 *litterarum studia adulescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.*

P. 5. — 10. Q. Maximum: the famous Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Ovicula Cunctator, hero of the Second Punic War. —— **eum ... recepit**: this clause has often been suspected to be an insertion of the writers of MSS. But (1) the capture of Tarentum in 209 B. C. was Fabius' crowning achievement, and 'captor of Tarentum' was often added to his name as a title of honor; see De Orat. 2, 273; and (2) there were several other persons of distinction bearing the name Q. Maximus about the same time, so that some special mark was wanted for the sake of clearness. Notice *recepit* 'recovered', Tarentum having been lost by the Romans to Hannibal in 212 B. C. —— **senem adulescens**: observe the emphasis given by placing close together the two words of opposite meaning. —— **erat ... gravitas**: 'that hero possessed dignity tempered by courtesy'. Expressions like *erat in illo gravitas* are common in Cicero; *e. g.* Mur. 58 *erat in Cotta summa eloquentia.* The metaphor in *condīta*, 'seasoned', is also common; cf. Lael. 66 *condimentum amicitiae.* —— **quamquam**: 'though indeed', introducing a necessary correction of the last words *nec senectus mores mutaverat.* For this corrective *quamquam* cf. n. on 2. —— **consul primum**: B. C. 233. —— **grandem natu**: although the phrases *maior, maximus, parvus, minor, minimus natu* are of frequent occurrence, yet *magnus natu* is not Latin, *grandis natu* being always used instead. The historians sometimes use *magno natu esse* or *in magno natu esse.* —— **anno post**: the word *unus* is not usually attached to *annus* except where there is a strong contrast between one and a larger number of years. *Anno post* must not be translated 'during the year after'; but either 'a year after', *anno* being regarded as the ablative of measure or excess, literally 'later by a year', or 'at the end of a year', the ablative being one of limitation, and *fuerat* being equivalent to *factus erat* 'had been elected'. So *quinto anno* below, 'at the end of the fifth year', *i. e.* 'five years after'. —— **adulescentulus miles**: See n. on 21 *quemquam senem.* Translate 'when quite a youth I marched with him to Capua as a private soldier'. G. 324; H. 363, 3, 2). *Miles* here = *gregarius miles.* ——

quem magistratum: *sc. quaesturam*, to be understood from *quaestor*. Cf. Mur. 18 *quaesturam una petiit et sum ego factus* (*sc. quaestor*) *prior*. —— **Tuditano et Cethego**: when the *praenomina* of the consuls are given the names generally stand side by side without *et*; when they are omitted *et* is generally inserted. Cf. n. on 50 *Centone Tuditanoque*, etc. —— **cum quidem**: the *quidem* simply adds a slight emphasis to *cum*; 'at the very time when', ἐπειδή γε. —— **suasor**: *suasor legis* was any person who publicly (*i. e.* before the senate or people in *contio* assembled) spoke in favor of a measure, *dissuasor* any one who spoke against it. Cf. 14 *suasissem*. —— **legis Cinciae**: a law passed in 204 B. C. by M. Cincius Alimentus, a plebeian tribune, whereby advocates were forbidden to take fees from their clients, and certain limitations were placed on gifts of property by private persons. —— **cum ... esset**: '*though* he was'; so below 11, 30, etc. —— **grandis**: = *grandis natu*. —— **iuveniliter**: Hannibal was 29 years of age when he entered Italy in 218. —— **exsultantem**: 'wildly roaming'. The word in its literal sense is used of a horse galloping at its own will over a plain. The metaphorical use is common in Cicero; cf. Acad. 2, 112 *cum sit campus in quo exsultare possit oratio, cur eam tantas in angustias compellimus?* —— **patientia**: 'endurance', 'persistence'; it is not equivalent to our 'patience'. —— **praeclare**: *sc. dicit*; cf. n. on 3. —— **familiaris**: see Introd. —— **unus homo** etc.: these lines were famous, and were not only often quoted with the name of Ennius attached (as in Off. 1, 84; Livy 30, 26), but also imitated or adapted without mention of his name, as being too familiar to need it; cf. Att. 2, 19, 2; Ovid, Fast. 2, 241; Verg. Aen. 6, 846; Suet. Tib. 21. —— **cunctando**: Cf. Polybius 3, 105, 8. On Fabius' military policy consult Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, Bk. III. ch. 5. —— **rem**: here = *rem publicam*. —— **noenum**: the older form from which *non* is an abbreviation; = *ne-oinom*, *n-oinom*, literally 'not one thing'; cf. *nihil* = *ne-hilum* 'not a whit', also the rare word *ningulus* = *ne oinculus*, 'not even a little one'. —— **rumores**: 'fame', 'public opinion'. —— **ponebāt**: for the long vowel cf. n. on 1, l. 2 *versat*. —— **plusque**: MSS. *postque*; *plusque* is the emendation of Bernays. *Plusque magisque* is a variation upon the ordinary phrases *plus plusque*, *magis magisque*.

11. Salinatori: there can be no doubt that Cicero is guilty of a blunder here, and in De Or. 2, 273 where the story also occurs. Livy (27, 34, 7) gives M. Livius Macatus as the name of the Roman com-

mander who held the citadel of Tarentum while Hannibal was in possession of the town. Cicero probably found the commander described by the annalists merely as M. Livius (so in Livy 24, 20, 13; 26, 39, 1), and then jumped to the conclusion that he was the famous M. Livius Salinator. This man, the father of the Salinator mentioned in 7, was consul in 219 and subdued the Illyrians, but was condemned for misappropriation of public moneys and went into exile. In 210 he was induced to return by the desire of the senate. In 207 he became consul with C. Claudius Nero, and defeated Hasdrubal in the great battle of the Metaurus. In 204 Livius was censor with Nero as his colleague, and won his name *Salinator* by imposing a tax on salt. The title was bestowed in ridicule, but clung to the family. Salinator was a relative of M. Livius Macatus. See Liv. 27, 34, 7. —— **ita dicenti** etc.: the anecdote is told by Livy, 27, 25, 5 and Plutarch, Fab. 23. Both, however, refer the story not to the time at which Tarentum was taken, but to the year after, when altercations about it took place in the senate. —— **toga**: here put for 'civil life', the *toga* being replaced in time of war by the *sagum*. Cf. in Pisonem 73 *pacis est insigne et oti toga, contra autem arma tumultus atque belli;* De Or. 3, 167 *'togam', pro 'pace', 'arma', ac 'tela', pro 'bello'*. We have the same contrast between *arma* and *toga* in Cicero's own much-derided verse, *cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi*, which is defended by him, in Pis. 73 and Off. 1, 77. —— **consul iterum** etc.: as the second consulship of Fabius was in 228 B. C., while the law of Flaminius was passed in 232 (according to Polybius), it is, very difficult to understand the statement here made. It is possible that Flaminius was one of the commissioners for executing his own law, and that its execution lasted over the time of Fabius' second consulship. The Flaminius here mentioned is the same who fell as consul in 217 at the battle of lake Trasimenus. He held large and statesman-like views on the policy of securing Italy by planting Romans and Latins in the territory then recently taken from the Gauls, in the neighborhood of Ariminum. This particular measure was carried against the will of the senate, and was the first law passed, since the *lex Hortensia* of 287, in defiance of its wishes. It was also the first agrarian law since the Licinio-Sextian law of 367. Polybius dates the decline of the Roman constitution from the passing of the *lex Flaminia*. Cf. 'Rheinisches Museum', 1843, p. 573. —— **Sp. Carvilio quiescente**: this Sp. Carvilius was consul in 234 when

he conquered the Corsicans and Sardinians. In 228 he wás again consul, and died as augur in 212. He is said, but erroneously, to have been the first Roman who divorced his wife. In 216, just after the battle of Cannae, he made a most remarkable proposal, to fill up the gaps which that battle had made in the numbers of the senate by selecting two members from each of the Latin communities. It was almost the only occasion in the course of Roman history when anything like modern representative government was advocated. Carvilius was not sprung from one of the noble families, who for the most part monopolized the higher offices of state; it is therefore not surprising that he should have sympathized with Flaminius. —— **contra senatus auctoritatem**: 'against the expressed wish of the senate'. *Senatus auctoritas* is, strictly speaking, an opinion of the senate not formally embodied in a decree, *senatus consultum*. Cicero, in Invent. 2, 52 says Flaminius carried his law *contra voluntatem omnium optimatium*. —— **dividenti**: 'when he tried to divide'. The participle is here equivalent to *cum* with the imperfect indicative (*dividebat*). So in 54 *lenientem*. A. 290, *a*; G. 668; H. 549, 1.

P. 6. — **cum esset**: '*though* he was'. What Fabius declared was really that the *auspicia* were a political instrument in the hands of the aristocrats, rather than a part of religion. Fabius, according to Liv. 30, 26, 7, was augur for 62 years before his death, and had no doubt had a large experience in the manipulation of the *auspicia* for political purposes. Compare Homer, Iliad, 12, 243; also Cic. Phil. 11, 28 *Iuppiter ipse sanxit ut omnia quae rei publicae salutaria essent legitima et iusta haberentur* Consult Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, Bk. IV. Ch. 12.

12. admirabilius: 'more amazing'. The Latin word has a much stronger meaning than the English word derived from it. —— **quo modo tulit**: = *eum modum quo tulit*, so that the clause is not really dependent on *cognovi*, nor *tulit* irregularly put for *tulerit*. In Lael. 9 Laelius exclaims, of Cato himself, *quo modo, ut alia omittam, mortem fili tulit*. And no doubt Cic. meant here to make Cato allude to *his* loss, described in 84. —— **fili**: see n. on 1 *praemi*. —— **consularis**: the son of Fabius was consul in 213 with Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. —— **est in manibus**: 'is in every one's hands', 'is commonly read'. The expression is common enough in this sense; *e. g.* Lael. 96 *in manibus est oratio*. —— **laudatio**: *sc. funebris*, the funeral speech. This composition was read in Cicero's time (see Tusc. 3, 70; Fam. 4,

tam; it means rather 'in this state', 'under these conditions'; the words from *quasi* to the end of the sentence really form an explanation of *ita*. This mode of expression is often found; *ita* and *sic* frequently look on to clauses introduced by *quasi, si, ut, cum* etc. Cf. below 26 *sic...quasi...cupiens* (where see n.); Sall. Iug. 85, 19

ita aetatem agunt quasi vestros honores contemnunt, ita hos petunt quasi honeste vixerint. —— **divinarem**: see references on 6 *confeceris.* —— **illo exstincto**: Fabius died in 203 B. C. —— **fore unde discerem neminem**: cf. Acad. 1, 8 *quae nemo adhuc docuerat nec erat unde studiosi scire possent.* *Unde* of persons (here = *a quo*) is common in both verse and prose (so ὅθεν and ὅθενπερ, vid. Liddell and Scott in vv.); cf. Horace 1, 12, 17 *unde nil maius generatur ipso;* 1, 28, 28; Cic. de Or. 1, 67 *ille ipse unde cognorit;* ib. 2, 285. So *ubi* = *apud quem* in Verr. 4, 29; *quo* = *ad quos* below, 83, and in Verr. 4, 38; cf. also n. on *istinc* in 47. For mood of *discerem* see A. 320; G. 634; H. 503, I.

13. quorsus igitur haec: *sc. dixi.* —— **tam multa**: this takes the place of *tot*, which, like *quot*, cannot be used as a substantive. —— **Scipiones**: 'men like Scipio', *i. e.* the elder Africanus; so 15 *Fabricii Curii Coruncanii.* Cicero has here put his own opinion of Scipio into the mouth of Cato, who, during a large part of his life, was a staunch and even bitter opponent of Scipio, and therefore not likely to couple him with Fabius. Cf. Introd. —— **ut . . . recordentur**: the repetition of *ut* with each clause for the sake of effect may be compared with the repetition of *nihil* in 15, 27, 41; of *non* in 32; of *hinc* in 40; of *sibi* in 58. —— **pedestris**: for *terrestris;* the usage is very common; so in Greek πεζομαχία and ναυμαχία, πεζομαχεῖν and ναυμαχεῖν are often contrasted (see Liddell and Scott). It is not recorded by historians that either Scipio or Fabius took part personally in naval warfare. —— **recordentur**: this verb implies the habitual dwelling of the memory upon the past. —— **quiete et pure atque eleganter**: the enumeration consists of two branches connected by *et*, the second branch being subdivided into two members connected by *atque*. Had each of the adverbs been intended to stand on exactly the same footing Cic. would have written *et* instead of *atque*, or else would have omitted the copula altogether; see n. on 53 *capitum iugatio.* In enumerations of the form $A + (B_1 + B_2)$, the + outside the bracket is expressed by *et*, the + inside the bracket generally being expressed by *ac*, for which *atque* is substituted when the following word (*i. e.* B_2) begins with a vowel, a guttural (*c*, *q*, *g*) or *h*, before which *ac* was very seldom written. —— **pure atque eleganter**: 'sinlessly and gently'. *Pure* implies moral stainlessness, *eleganter*, literally 'in choice fashion', implies daintiness combined with simplicity in regard to the external conditions of life. The same ideas are put

together in Sull. 79 *cum summa elegantia atque integritate vixistis.* —— **aetatis**: see n. on 5. —— **placida ac lenis**: 'quiet and mild'; *placida* refers to the external surroundings, *lenis* to the temper and character. —— **accepimus**: *sc. fuisse;* for the ellipsis of the infinitive cf. n. on 22 *videretur.* —— **uno et octogesimo**: but below *quarto* (not *quattuor*) *nonagesimo.* In the compound *ordinal* numbers corresponding to those *cardinal* numbers which are made up of one and a multiple of ten, the Latins use *unus* oftener than *primus*, which would be strictly correct; so in English 'one and eightieth' for 'eighty-first'. The ordinary Grammar rule (Roby, Vol. 1, p. 443 'the *ordinal* not the *cardinal* is used in giving the date') requires slight correction. For the position of the words see G. 94, 3; H. 174, foot-note 3. —— **scribens est mortuus**: 'died while still engaged upon his works'; cf. 23 *num Platonem ... coegit in suis studiis obmutiscere senectus?* Diog. Laert. 3, 2 quoting Hermippus (a Greek writer on biography who lived about the time of the Second Punic war), says that Plato died in the middle of a marriage-feast at which he was a guest. Val. Max. 8, 7, 3 gives a slightly different account. —— **Isocrati**: this form of the genitive of Greek proper names in *-es* was probably used by Cicero rather than the form in *-is;* see Madvig on Fin. 1, 14; Neue, Formenlehre, 1^2 332. Isocrates, the greatest teacher of rhetoric of his time, lived from 436 to 338, when he died by voluntary starvation owing to his grief at the loss of Greek freedom through the battle of Chaeronea. Milton, Sonnet x. 'That dishonest victory At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty, Kill'd with report that old man eloquent'. —— **eum ... inscribitur**: the periphrasis is common, and the verb *inscribere* is nearly always in the present tense (in later prose as well as in Cicero) as in 59. This is sometimes the case even where the neighboring verbs are in past tenses, as in Acad. 1, 12 *nec se tenuit quin contra suum doctorem librum etiam ederet qui Sosus inscribitur.* The present seems to mean that the name mentioned is continually given to each copy of the book as produced; where the continuing multiplication of copies is not looked to, we have the perfect, as Att. 8, 5, 2 *tu fasciculum* (bundle of letters) *qui est inscriptus 'des M'. Curio', velim cures ad eum perferendum.* Cf. also De Or. 2, 61 *deceptus indicibus librorum qui sunt fere inscripti* ('to which the authors — once for all — have given the titles') *de virtute, de iustitia,* etc.; so Div. 2, 1 *eo libro qui est inscriptus Hortensius.* —— **dicit**: the 'Panathenaicus', an encomium of Athens written for recitation at the great festival of the

Panathenaea, is among the works of Isocrates which we still possess. In c. 1 Isocrates says τοῖς ἔτεσι ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τετταρσίν, ὧν ἐγὼ τυγχάνω γεγονώς. —— **vixitque**: 'and yet he lived'. The *que* here has a slight adversative force, as is often the case with *et*. Cf. n. on 28, 43, 73. —— **Gorgias**: the greatest of the sophists, born at Leontini in Sicily about 485 B. C.; his death took place, according to the varying accounts, in 380, 378, or 377. In his old age he lived in Thessaly, where Isocrates studied with him; see Or. 176; Fin. 2, 1. For the adjective *Leontinus* placed before the name rather than after cf. 43 *Thessalo Cinea.* —— **centum et septem annos**: Kennedy, Gram., § 34, vii, *c*, says, 'in compound numbers above 100 the larger number, with or without *et*, generally precedes the smaller'; cf. Roby, Vol. 1, p. 443. —— **cesso**: does not correspond in meaning with our 'cease', *i. e.* '*to come to* a standstill'; *cesso* is 'I am in a state of rest', 'I am idle'. —— **quaereretur**: the past tense, though the principal verb, *inquit*, is in the present, because the present is the *historical* present and so equivalent to a past tense. Cf. Roby, 1511–1514; Kennedy, 229, 2. A. 287, *e*; G. 511, Rem. 1; H. 495, II. The idiom by which the imperfect stands where we should expect a tense of completed action, should be noticed; cf. Tusc. 2, 60 *quem cum rogaret, respondit.* The explanation of the imperfect in such cases is that it marks out, more clearly than the pluperfect would, the fact that the action of the principal verb and the action of the dependent verb are practically contemporaneous. In our passage if *quaesitum esset* had been written it would have indicated merely that at some quite indefinite time after the question was put the answer was given. Cf. N. D. 1, 60 *auctore ... obscurior.* —— **cur ... vita**: a hint at suicide, which the ancients thought a justifiable mode of escape from troubles, particularly those of ill health or old age. See n. on 73 *vetat Pythagoras. Esse in vita* is stronger than *vivere;* cf. Qu. Fr. 1, 3, 5. —— **nihil habeo quod accusem**: 'I have no reason to reproach'. Cf. the common phrase *quid est quod...?* *Quod*, adverbial acc. A. 240, *a*; G. 331, R. 3; H. 378, 2. For mood of *accusem* see H. 503, I. n. 2, and references on 12 *discerem.* —— **praeclarum responsum**: *est* is not required, because *responsum* is in apposition to the last part of the preceding sentence. Similar appositions occur in Laelius, 67, 71, 79. —— **docto**: applied especially to philosophers, but also to poets. The word implies *cultivation* as well as mere *knowledge;* 'a learned man', merely as such, is '*homo litteratus*'; cf. n. on 54.

P. 7.—14. cuius . . . feci: 'the aforesaid' is in good Latin always expressed by a parenthesis like this and not by a participle in agreement with the noun. The phrases '*ante dictus*', '*supra dictus*', belong to silver Latin, where they are common. Cf. 23 *quos ante dixi.* —— **sic ut** etc.: the lines are from the Annals of Ennius, for which see n. on 1. —— **ecus**: Ennius did not write *uu*, nor most likely did Cicero; the former may have written either *ecus*, *equos*, or *equs*. The last form Vahlen prints in his edition of Ennius. —— **spatio supremo**: 'at the end of the race-course', 'at the goal', or it may be 'at the last turn round the course', the race requiring the course to be run round several times; cf. Homer's πύματον δρόμον in Iliad 23, 768. So 83 *decurso spatio*; Verg. Aen. 5, 327 *iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam finem adventabant.* —— **vicit Olumpia**: a direct imitation of the Greek phrase νικᾶν 'Ολύμπια, to win a victory at an Olympic contest. So Horace Ep. 1, 1, 50 has *coronari Olympia* = στεφανοῦσθαι 'Ολύμπια. The editors print *Olympia*, but the use of *y* to represent Greek υ did not come in till long after the time of Ennius. —— **senio**: differs from *senectute* in implying not merely old age, but the weakness which usually accompanies it. —— **confectus**: for the disregard of the final *s* in scanning cf. n. on 1, l. 6. —— **equi victoris**: for the almost adjectival use of the substantive *victor*, cf. Verg. Aen. 7, 656 *victores equos*; ib. 12, 751 *venator canis*; ib. 10, 891; 11, 89, and Georg. 2, 145 *bellator equus*, in Theocritus 15, 51 πολεμισταὶ ἵπποι. The feminine nouns in *-trix* are freely used as adjectives both in verse and in prose. A. 88, *c*; H. 441, 3. —— **quem quidem**: the same form of transition is used in 26, 29, 46, 53. The whole of this passage to *suasissem* is an exhibition of antiquarian learning quite unnatural and inappropriate in a dialogue. —— **probe meminisse potestis**: cf. De Or. 3, 194 *quem tu probe meministi*; Fin. 2, 63 *L. Thorius quem meminisse tu non potes*. *Memini* can take a *personal* accusative only when the person who remembers was a contemporary of the person remembered; otherwise the gen. follows. Cf. Roby, 1333; A. 219, Rem.; H. 407, n. 1. —— **hi consules**: 'the present consuls'. —— **T. Flamininus**: commonly said to be the son of the great Flamininus (1, l. 1). He was altogether undistinguished, as also were the Acilius and the Caepio here mentioned. This passage gives the imagined date of the dialogue as 150 B. C. —— **Philippo**: this was Q. Marcius Philippus, who was consul in 186 and took part in the suppression of the great Bacchanalian conspiracy of that year. For the next 17 years he was a

leading senator and much engaged in diplomacy in the East. In 169 he was again consul and commanded against Perseus in the early part of the war. —— **cum . . . legem Voconiam . . . suasissem**: 'after I had spoken publicly in favor of the law of Voconius'. For *suasissem* cf. 10 *suasor* with n. The *Lex Voconia de mulierum hereditatibus* aimed at securing the continuance of property in families. By its provisions no man who possessed property valued in the censors' lists at 100,000 sesterces or more, could appoint a woman or women as his *heres* or *heredes*; further, no person or persons, male or female, could receive under the will legacies amounting in all to a larger sum than that received by the principal heir or heirs. Every Roman will named a *heres* or *heredes*, on whom devolved all the privileges and duties of the deceased, with such duties as were enjoined by the will; particularly the duty of paying the legacies left to those who were not *heredes*. See Maine, Ancient Law, Ch. 6; also Hunter, Introd. to Roman Law, Ch. 5. —— **magna**: in Latin the word *magnus* is the only equivalent of our 'loud'. —— **lateribus**: 'lungs'. Cic. and the best writers rarely use *pulmones* for 'lungs'; the few passages in which it occurs either refer to victims sacrificed at the altar, or are medical or physiological descriptions. 'Good lungs' is always '*bona latera*' never *pulmones*. —— **duo . . . senectutem**: Ennius is said to have kept a school in his later days, and to have lived in a cottage with one servant only.

15. etenim: this word generally introduces either an explanation or a proof of a preceding statement. Here the words are elliptic, and the real connection with what precedes can only be made clear by a paraphrase. 'Ennius seemed to delight in old age. And no wonder, since there are four causes which make men think old age wretched, and no one of these will bear examination'. *Etenim* may generally be translated 'indeed', or 'in fact'. —— **cum complector animo**: 'when I grasp them in my thoughts'. The object of *complector* is to be supplied from *causas*. —— **avocet**: *sc. senes*. The subjunctives denote that these are the thoughts not of the speaker, but of the persons who do think old age a wretched thing. See n. on 3 *ferat*; but cf. Kennedy, Grammar, pref., p. 30. —— **alteram . . . tertiam**: in enumerations of more than two things *unus* and *alter* generally take the place of *primus* and *secundus*; in Cic. these latter rarely occur under such circumstances. Cf. Att. 3, 15, 1; Fin. 5, 9; Off. 1, 152; Cluent. 178. —— **infirmius**: *sc. quam antea erat*. —— **quam sit iusta**:

Cicero generally separates from the words they qualify *quam*, *tam*, *ita*, *tantus*, *quantus*, often, as here, by one small word. Cf. below, 35 *quam fuit imbecillus*; 40 *tam esse inimicum*. —— **quibus**: the preposition *a* is often omitted; cf. in Pis. 91 *Arsinoen ... Naupactum fateris ab hostibus esse captas. Quibus hostibus? Nempe eis*, etc.; Tusc. 3, 37 *sed traducis cogitationes meas ad voluptates. Quas?* Even when relative and antecedent are in the same sentence the preposition is not often repeated; *e.g.* Fin. 5, 68 *eodem in genere quo illa*. —— **an eis**: *an* always introduces a question which is not independent, but follows upon a previous question either expressed or implied. Here *quibus* implies *omnibusne*. Cf. div. in Caec. 52 *quid enim dices? An id quod dictitas* ... where *quid* implies *nihilne*; also below, 23, 29 *anne*. A. 211, *b*; G. 459; H. 353, 2, n. 4. —— **iuventute et viribus**: commonly explained as a hendiadys, *i. e.* as put for *iuventutis viribus*; but Cic. no more meant this than we mean 'the strength of youth' when we speak of 'youth and strength'. Real instances of hendiadys are much rarer than is generally supposed. —— **quae**: = *tales ut*. —— **L. Paulus**: this is L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, consul in 182 B. C., and again in 168 when he finished the third Macedonian war by utterly defeating Perseus at Pydna. For his connection with Scipio and Cato see Introd. —— **pater tuus**: *i. e. Scipio*; so in 29 *avi tui*, and in 75 *avum tuum*, without mention of young Scipio's name, but in 49 *patris tui, Scipio*; so 77. —— **Fabricii etc.**: for the plurals see n. on 13. C. Fabricius Luscinus, consul in 282, 278, and 273 B. C., censor in 275, held the command against Pyrrhus. The Roman writers, Cicero especially, are never tired of eulogizing him as a pattern of old-fashioned Roman virtue. Manius Curius Dentatus, consul in 290, 275, and 274 practically, if not formally, ended the third Samnite war, and also commanded against Pyrrhus; see 55. He was famed for his sturdy Roman simplicity and frugality. Tiberius Coruncanius as consul in 280 crushed an Etruscan insurrection. In 252 he became the first plebeian pontifex maximus. These three men are very frequently mentioned together by Cicero; cf. below, 43, Lael. 18. —— **nihil agebant**: observe that *nihil agebat* is put at the beginning of the first sentence, *nihil agebant* at the end of the second; chiasmus.

16. A. Claudi: Appius Claudius, the head of the most strongly aristocratic family in Rome, was censor in 311 B. C., when he constructed the *via Appia*, and consul in 307 and 296. He had to be carried into the senate-house in order to oppose the peace with Pyr-

rhus. —— **accedebat ut**: *accedit* is far oftener followed by a clause with *quod* and indicative than by a clause with *ut* and subjunctive. When the *quod*-clause follows, it contains a fact looked at merely as a fact and nothing more; but the *ut*-clause views the fact as consequent upon, or dependent on some other fact. Here the blindness is regarded as being the consequence of old age; though Livy 9, 29, 11 and other authors attribute it to the anger of the gods, because as censor Appius had taken the administration of the worship of Hercules away from the ancient family of the Potitii, and had placed it in the hands of public slaves. The mental vigor of Appius in his old age is mentioned by Cic. in Tusc. 5, 112.

P. 8. — **cum Pyrrho**: note the position of the words between *pacem* and *foedus*, with both of which they go. This usage is called by the grammarians *coniunctio*; cf. n. on Lael. 8 *cum summi viri tum amicissimi*; also above, *quae iuventute g e r u n t u r et viribus*; below, 18 *quae sint gerenda p r a e s c r i b o et quo modo.* —— **foedus**: this seems opposed to *pacem* as a formal engagement is to a mere abstention from hostilities. —— **non dubitavit dicere**: when *dubitare* means 'to hesitate' (about a course of action), and the sentence is *negative*, or an interrogative sentence assuming a negative answer, the infinitive construction generally follows, as here; but the infinitive is rare in a *positive* sentence. When *dubitare* means to 'be in doubt' (as to whether certain statements are true or not), the regular construction is either *quin* with subj. or some form of indirect interrogative clause. Cf. below, 25. —— **quo vobis**: from the *Annales*. In *mentes dementis* we have *oxymoron* (an intentional contradiction in terms) as in 38 *sensim sine sensu*; 39 *munus...aufert*. On the case of *vobis*, see Roby, 1154; A. 235, *a*; H. 384, 4, n. 2. —— **antehac**: always a dissyllable in verse, and probably so pronounced in prose. —— **viai**: the old genitive. A. 36, *a*; G. 27, Rem. 1; H. 49, 2. The reading is not quite certain; if *viai* be read it is not altogether certain whether it depends on *quo* or on *sese flexere*. In the former construction we have a partitive gen. with an adv.; A. 216, *a*, 4; G. 371, Rem. 4; H. 397, 4; in the latter, a distinct Graecism like *desine querellarum* (Hor. Od. 2, 9, 17) and the like; A. 243, Rem.; G. 373, Rem. 6; H. 410, V. 4. —— **et tamen**: the sense is incompletely expressed; in full it is 'and yet there is no need for me to refer to Appius' speech as given by Ennius, since the speech itself is in existence'. Exactly similar ellipses are found with *et tamen* in Fin. 1, 11 and 15; 2, §§ 15, 21, 64 and

85; Att. 7, 3, 10; Lucretius 5, 1177. In Munro's note on the last passage a collection of examples will be found. —— **Appi...oratio**: the speech was known to Cicero, and was one of the oldest monuments of prose composition in Latin extant in his time; see Brut. 61. Plutarch, Pyrrhus 19, gives an account of Appius' speech, which may be founded on the original; he mentions it also in his tract commonly called '*an seni sit gerenda res publica*', c. 21. Ihne (History of Rome, Vol. I. p. 521, Eng. ed.) doubts whether the speech, as Cic. knew it, was committed to writing by Appius himself. —— **haec ille egit**: 'he made this speech'. —— **septemdecim annis**: as the second (*alterum*) consulship was in 296, and the speech in 280, both these years are included in the reckoning by a usage very common in Latin. For the ablative cf. 19. —— **censor...ante consulatum**: this was unusual, and therefore to Claudius' honor. —— **grandem sane**: 'undoubtedly old'. —— **et tamen sic**: *i. e. eum tum grandem fuisse.* Lahmeyer wrongly says that *sic* points to the words *atque haec ille egit.* It may be noted that *sic* takes the place of an object after *accepimus;* cf. 77 *ita crederem;* 78 *sic mihi persuasi;* also 18 *male cogitanti.*

17. nihil afferunt: 'they bring forward nothing', *i. e.* what they bring forward is worthless; so in Greek *οὐδὲν λέγειν*, the opposite of which is *λέγειν τι.* Cf. 8 *est istuc aliquid.* —— **similes ut si**: a very rare construction. Equally unusual is *similes tamquam si* in Div. 2, 131. In Tusc. 4, 41 and Off. 1, 87 we find *similiter ut si*, in Fin. 2, 21 and 4, 31 *similiter* or *similis et si*, in N. D. 3, 8 *similiter ac si;* also in Liv. 5, 5, 12 *dissimilia ac si*, in 35, 42, 10 *idem ac si.* As regards the *ut* after *similes*, we may compare a few passages in which *simul ut* appears for *simul ac;* see Reid's n. on Academ. 2, 51. In the English Bible there are expressions like *similes sunt ut si qui dicant*, 'they are like as if some men should say'. —— **scandant**: '*cum* is used with the subjunctive when it expresses a kind of comparison, and especially a contrast, between the contents of a leading proposition and a subordinate ("whereas", etc.)'. Madvig, 358, Obs. 3. The underlying idea in this use is generally cause, sometimes concession. —— **per foros**: 'over the deck'. —— **ille**: for the omission of *sed* or *autem* (*asyndeton adversativum*) see n. on 3 *librum*, etc. —— **clavum**: 'tiller'. With this passage Lahmeyer well compares what Cicero says of himself in Fam. 9, 15, 3 *sedebamus in puppi et clavum tenebamus; nunc autem vix est in sentina locus.* —— **velocitate**: *velocitas* and *celeritas* differ

very slightly; the former means rather speed of movement in one line, the latter rather power of rapid motion with frequent change of direction. The emphatic word in this clause is *corporum*. Cf. Off. 1, 79 *honestum ... animi efficitur non corporis viribus*. —— **consilio ... sententia**: *consilio*, advice; *auctoritate*, weight of influence; *sententia*, an opinion or vote formally given. —— **quibus**: in twofold relation; with *orbari*, abl. of separation, with *augeri*, of specification.

18. nisi forte: ironical, used to introduce a possible, but absurd objection to something which has gone before. The verb that follows is always in the indicative. —— **miles etc.**: 'as common soldier'; see n. on 10. —— **in vario genere**: we use the plural, 'in different kinds'. Cf. Acad. 2, 3 *in omni genere belli;* Deiot. 12 *in omni genere bellorum*. —— **cessare**: cf. n. on 13. —— **at senatui etc.**: exactly the same ideas are expressed, with the same mention of Cato's activity, in Off. 1, 79. —— **male cogitanti**: 'which has now for a long time been plotting mischief'; A. 290, *a*; G. 671, 221; H. 549, 4; 467, III. 2. Cf. pro Sulla 70 *nefarie cogitare;* for the use of the adverb see n. on 16 *sic*. On Cato's attitude toward Carthage see Introd. —— **vereri**: the construction is unusual. *Vereor* regularly takes after it an accusative, or else a clause with *ne* or *ut*. A passage much resembling this is Rab. Post. 10 *omnes qui aliquid de se verebantur;* cf. also Att. 10, 4, 6 *de vita sua metuere;* Verg. Aen. 9, 207 *de te nil tale verebar;* in all these examples the ablative with *de* denotes the quarter threatened, not, as here, the quarter from which the threat comes. —— **exscisam**: from *exscindo;* most edd. *excisam*, but to raze a city is *urbem exscindere* not *excidere;* *e. g.* Rep. 6, 11 *Numantiam exscindes*.

19. quam palmam etc.: a prophecy after the event, like that in Rep. 6, 11 *avi relliquias*, the finishing up of the Punic wars. For the use of *relliquias* cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 30 *Troas relliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli;* ib. 598; ib. 3, 87. —— **tertius**: so all our MSS. This places the elder Scipio's death in 183, which agrees with Livy's account in 39, 50, 10. But the year before Cato's censorship was 185 not 183, hence some edd. read *quintus* and some *sextus* in place of *tertius*.

P. 9. — novem annis: as Cato's consulship was in 195 these words also apparently disagree with *tertius* above. *Novem annis post* means nine *full* years after, *i. e*, 185 not 186; cf. 42 *septem annis post*. —— **enim**: implies that the answer 'no' has been given to the question,

and proceeds to account for that answer. —— **excursione**: a military term = 'skirmishing'; Cf. Div. 2, 26 *prima orationis e x c u r s i o.* —— **hastis**: loosely used for *pilis.* The long old Roman *hasta*, whence the name *hastati*, had long before Cato's time been discarded for the *pilum* or short javelin, which was thrown at the enemy from a distance, before the troops closed and used the sword. —— **consilium**: the repetition of *consilium* in a different sense from that which it had in the sentence before seems to us awkward; but many such repetitions are found in Cicero. *Consilium* corresponds to both 'counsel' and 'council'; the senate was originally *regium consilium*, the king's body of advisers. Here translate *summum consilium* 'the supreme deliberative body'. —— **senatum**: 'assembly of elders'. Cf. 56 *senatores, id est senes. Senatus* implies a lost verb *senā-re*, to be or grow old, from the stem of which both *senā-tus* and *senā-tor* are derived. This stem again implies a lost noun or adjective *senus*, old. The word *senatus* was collective, like *comitatus*, a body of companions, *exercitus*, a trained band etc.

20. amplissimum: 'most honorable'. —— **ut sunt . . . senes**: the Spartan γερουσία, as it is commonly called, consisted of 28 members, all over 60 years of age. Herodotus uses the term γέροντες (*senes*) for this assembly; Xenophon γεροντία. In the Laconian dialect γερωΐα was its name; we also find γεροντεύειν 'to be a senator'. For *ut . . . sic* cf. Academ. 2, 14, *similiter vos cum perturbare, ut illi rem publicam, sic vos philosophiam velitis;* also Lael. 19. —— **audire**: like ἀκούω, used especially of historical matters, since instruction in them was almost entirely oral. Cf. ἀνήκοος = 'ignorant of history'. —— **voletis**: see note on 7 *faciam ut potero;* cf. Roby, 1464, *a*; Madvig, 339, Obs. 1; A. 278, *b*; G. 234, Rem. 1; H. 470, 2. —— **adulescentibus**: Cic., when he wrote this, was possibly thinking of Athens and Alcibiades. —— **labefactatas**: the verb *labefacio* is foreign to good prose, in which *labefacto* is used. —— **sustentatas**: Cic. does not use *sustentus.* In Mur. 3 *sustinenda* is followed by *sustentata* in the same sentence. —— **cedo . . . cito**: the line is of the kind called tetrameter iambic acatalectic (or octonarius), and is scanned thus:—

⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | – – | – –́ | ⏑ – || – –́ | – – | – –́ | ⏑ –.

In all kinds of iambic verse the old Romans freely introduced spondees where the Greeks used iambi; so in hexameters spondees for dactyls. Cf. Hor. Ep. ad. Pis. 254 *et seq.* —— **cĕdo**: = *dic;* from *ce*,

the enclitic particle involved in *hic* = (*hi-ce*) etc. and *da*, the root of *do*. So *cette* = *ce-dăte* = *cedte*, then *cette* by assimilation of *d* to *t*. The original meaning would thus be 'give here', and in this sense the word is often used. See Lex. *Dare* is commonly put for *dicere*, as *accipere* is for *audire*. —— **qui**: 'how'. —— **tantam**: = *τοσαύτην οὖσαν*. —— **Naevi**: Naevius lived about 264–194 B.C. His great work was a history of the First Punic War written in Saturnian verse, the rude indigenous metre of early Roman poetry. He wrote also plays,—tragedies and comedies, both *palliatae* and *praetextae*. For an account of him see Cruttwell, History of Roman Literature; also, Sellar, Roman Poets of the Republic, Ch. 3. If *Ludo* be read, it may be either from the Latin *ludus* (Naevius entitled a comedy *Ludius*) or from *Λυδός*, Lydian. —— **poetae**: Naevius seems to have been in the habit of adding *poeta* to his name. It appears in the well-known epitaph said to have been written by himself, also in the lines written against him by the family poet of the Metelli: '*malum dabunt Metelli Naevio poetae*'. The name *poeta* was new in Naevius' time and was just displacing the old Latin name *vates*: see Munro on Lucr. 1, 102. —— **proveniebant** etc.: the same metre as above, divided thus by Lahmeyer:—

provéni | ebant | ordt | ores || noví | stulti adu | lescén | tuli.

The whole line has the look of being translated from the Greek: *προὔβαινον (εἰς τὸ βῆμα) ῥήτορες καινοί τινες, μειράκια γελοῖα.* Lr. takes *provenire* in the sense of 'to grow up', comparing Plin. Ep. I, 13, 1 *magnum proventum* ('crop') *poetarum annus hic attulit;* Sall. Cat. 8, 3 *provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia.* —— **videlicet**: 'you see'.

21. at: = *ἀλλὰ γάρ;* used, as in 32, 35, 47, 65, and 68, to introduce the supposed objection of an opponent. —— **credo**: 'of course'. Cf. 47 where *credo* follows *at* as here. —— **exerceas**: the subject is the indefinite 'you' equivalent to 'one', *τὶς*: 'unless one were to practise it'. So 28 *nequeas;* 33 *requiras*. Cf. also Plin. Ep. 8, 14, 3 *difficile est tenere quae acceperis, nisi exerceas.* For the mood see A. 309, *a*; G. 598, 597, Rem. 3; H. 508, 5, 2). —— **tardior**: 'unusually dull'; cf. Academ. 2, 97 *Epicurus quem isti tardum putant.* —— **Themistocles**: famed for his memory. —— **civium**: 'fellow-countrymen'; *perceperat*: 'had grasped' or 'mastered'. —— **qui...solitum**: 'that he often addressed as Lysimachus some one who for all that was Aristides'. The direct object of *salutare* is omitted. For *qui* = *tametsi is* cf. Att.

1, 13, 3 *nosmet ipsi, qui Lycurgei f u i s s e m u s, cotidie demitigamur;* also De Or. 1, 82. —— **esset**: A. 342; G. 631; H. 529, II. and n. 1, 1). —— **Lysimachum**: for *ut L.* or *pro Lysimacho.* So Arch. 19 *Homerum Chii suum vindicant* (= *ut suum* or *pro suo*). Lysimachus was the father of Aristides. —— **sunt**: = *vivunt*, as often; so in 32 *esse* = *vivere;* 54 *fuit* = *vixit;* 56, 60, 69. —— **sepulcra legens**: Cato was a great antiquarian; cf. 38 *Originum.* —— **in memoriam redeo mortuorum**: the genitive as with *memini, recordari* etc. For the phrase cf. Verr. 1, 120 *redite in memoriam, iudices, quae libido istius fuerit;* also below, 59 *in gratiam redire cum voluptate.* Here translate 'I refresh my memory of the dead'. —— **quemquam senem**: the best writers do not use *quisquam* as an adjective, but there is no need to alter *senem* into *senum* as some editors do, since *senem* is a substitute for a clause *cum senex esset;* 'I never heard that anybody because he was an old man ...'. *Senes* must be so taken in 22, since *pontifices* etc. cannot stand as adjectives. Cf. n. on 10 *adulescentulus miles.* —— **vadimonia**: 'their appointments to appear in court, the debts due to them and the debts they owe'. When the hearing of a suit had to be adjourned, the defendant was bound over either on his own recognizance merely (*pure*) or along with sureties (*vades*) to appear in court on the day appointed for the next hearing, a sum or sums of money being forfeited in case of his non-appearance. The engagement to appear was technically called *vadimonium;* when the defendant entered into the engagement he was said *vadimonium promittere;* if he kept the engagement, *v. obire* or *sistere;* if he failed in it, *v. deserere.* The plural *vadimonia* is here used because a number of suits is meant; the word *constituta* is chosen as a more general term than *promissa*, and as referring to the circumstances of both plaintiff and defendant. Strictly speaking, it is the presiding judge who *vadimonia constituit.* On this account *vadimonia constituta* should be translated as above 'appointments', and not '*bonds*' or '*engagements*' to appear in court.

P. 10. — 22. **quid ... senes**: *sc. tibi videntur;* 'what do you think of old men as lawyers, etc.?' So without ellipsis, Fam. 9, 21, 1 *quid tibi ego in epistulis videor?* —— **ingenia**: = *suum cuique ingenium*, 'old men retain their wits'. —— **permaneat**: A. 266, *d*; G. 575; H. 513, I. —— **studium et industria**: 'earnestness and activity'; not a case of hendiadys, as some editors make it. Cf. n. on 15 *iuventute et viribus.* —— **neque ea solum**: = οὐδὲ ταῦτα μόνον, 'and that not

only'. —— **honoratis**: this does not correspond to our 'honored', but implies that the persons have held high offices (*honores*); cf. 61 *senectus honorata praesertim*. Here translate 'statesmen'. —— **in vita ... quieta**: 'in an unofficial and retired life'. There is chiasmus here, since *privata* is contrasted with *honoratis* and *quieta* with *claris*. —— **summam senectutem**: Sophocles died at the age of 90 in 405 B.C. —— **quod propter studium**: 'from his devotion to this occupation'. —— **filiis**: except Plutarch, who probably follows Cicero's words, all the authorities tell the story of the poet's eldest son Iophon only. The tale is full of improbabilities. —— **rem**: = *rem familiarem* as in 1. —— **patribus bonis interdici solet**: 'fathers are often prevented from managing their property'. For the construction cf. the expression *interdicere alicui aqua et igni*: *interdici* is here used impersonally with *patribus* in the dat.; A. 230; H. 384, 5; *bonis* is abl. of separation (deprivation). The fragment of the XII tables here referred to is thus given in Dirksen's edition: *sei fouriosos aut prodicos* (*prodigus*) *escit* (*erit*) *adcnatorum centiliomque* (*gentiliumque*) *eius potestas estod*, *i. e.* the agnates (male relatives whose kinship with the *furiosus* is derived through males) and members of his *gens* are to administer his property. We have preserved the form in which the judgment was made by the *praetor urbanus* (Paulus, Sent. 3, 4a, 7): '*quando tibi tua bona paterna avitaque n e q u i t i a tua disperdis liberosque tuos ad egestatem perducis, ob eam rem tibi ea re commercioque interdico*'. —— **quasi desipientem**: '*ὡς παραφρονοῦντα*' says the author of the anonymous life of Sophocles. Cf. Xenophon, Mem. 1, 2, 49. —— **in manibus habebat**: 'had on hand' *i. e.* in preparation. *Est in manibus* in 12 has a different meaning. —— **scripserat**: he had written it but not finally corrected it. —— **recitasse**: the common version of the story states that not the whole play was read but only the fine chorus beginning *εὐίππου, ξένε, τᾶσδε χώρας*. —— **videretur**: *sc. esse*; the infinitive is often omitted thus after verbs of desiring, thinking etc., also verbs of speaking and hearing; cf. Lael. 18 *eam sapientiam interpretantur*; ib. 29 *quam natam volunt*; ib. 64 *homines ex maxime raro genere iudicare*; Acad. 2, 12 *viderenturne ea Philonis*.

23. Hesiodum: see n. on 54. —— **Simoniden**: Simonides of Ceos (not S. of Amorgos), one of the greatest Greek lyric poets, lived from 556 to about 469 B.C. —— **Stesichorum**: of Himera in Sicily, also a lyric poet; lived from about 630 to about 556 B.C. —— **Isocraten Gorgian**: nn. on 13. —— **philosophorum principes**: 'in

the first rank of philosophers'. —— **Pythagoran**: neither the date of his birth nor that of his death can be determined; he 'flourished' about 530. He lived mostly in the Greek settlements of lower Italy, where his school existed for some centuries after his death. —— **Democritum**: of Abdera, one of the originators of the theory of atoms; said to have lived from 460 to 361 or 357 B.C. —— **Xenocraten**: after Plato, Speusippus was the first head of the Academic School; Xenocrates succeeded him. He lived from 397 to 315 or 313. —— **Zenonem**: of Citium in Cyprus, founder of Stoicism, born about 357, is said to have lived to the age of 98. —— **Cleanthen**: he followed Zeno in the presidency of the Stoic school. His age at death is variously given as 99 and as 80 years. —— **quem vidistis**: see Introd. It is rather curious that Cic. should make Cato speak with admiration of Diogenes, to whom he had shown great hostility. —— **Diogenen**: Cic. probably wrote in *-an*, *-en*, not in *-am*, *-em* the accusatives of Greek proper names in *-as*, *-es*. —— **Stoicum**: to distinguish him from Diogenes the Cynic. —— **agitatio**: Cic. uses *agitatio* and *actio* almost interchangeably; cf. *agitatio rerum* in De Or. 3, 88 with *actio rerum* in Acad. 2, 62 and elsewhere. *Actus* in this sense occurs only in silver Latin.

24. age: a common form of transition to a new subject; brief for '*hoc age*', 'do this', *i. e.* 'attend to this that I am going to say'. The common use of ἄγε in Greek is exactly similar. —— **ut... omittamus**: Cf. n. on 52 *ut.* —— **possum nominare**: 'I am able to name'; in colloquial English 'I *might* name'. The Latins occasionally use also a hypothetical form, where *possim* or *possem* stands in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, the protasis of which is not expressed; but the missing protasis is generally easily supplied and was distinctly present to the writer's mind. *E.g.* in Tusc. 1, 88 we have *dici hoc in te non potest; posset in Tarquinio; at in mortuo ne intellegi quidem* (*potest*), where the reason for the change from *potest* to *posset* is quite evident. In translating from English into Latin it is far safer to use the indicative. Cf. 55 *possum persequi.* A. 311, *c*; G. 599, Rem. 3; H. 511, 1, n. 3, 476, 4. —— **ex agro... Romanos**: 'country-bred Romans (*i. e.* Roman citizens) belonging to the Sabine district'. The words *ex agro Sabino* form an attributive phrase qualifying *Romanos* just as *rusticos* does. —— **numquam fere**: 'scarcely ever'. —— **maiora opera**: 'farm work of any importance'. This use of *opera* is common in Vergil's Georgics. —— **non**: the repetition of the nega-

tive after *numquam* is common in Latin; in English *never* ... *not* is found in dialects only. Cf. Lael. 48 *non tantum ... non plus quam.* —— **serendis**: ablative of respect; 'as regards sowing'. See Roby, 1210; Kennedy, 149. —— **percipiendis**: so 70; cf. N. D. 2, 156 *neque enim serendi neque colendi, nec tempestive demetendi percipiendique fructus, neque condendi nec reponendi ulla pecudum scientia est.* —— **in aliis**: see n. on 3 *ceteris*. Notice the proleptic use. —— **idem**: a better form of the plural than *iidem*, commonly found in our texts For the use here cf. n on 4 *eandem* —— **pertinere**: present for future. —— **serit ... prosint**: the line is given as Ribbeck prints it. He scans it as a '*bacchius*', consisting of four feet, with the measurement ◡ – –, the last syllable of *saeclo* seeming to be shortened. Cicero quotes the same line in Tusc. 1, 31 adding *ut ait* (*Statius*) *in Synephebis, quid spectans nisi etiam postera saecla ad se pertinere?* *Saeclo* = 'generation'. For mood of *prosint* see A. 317; G. 632; H. 497, I. —— **Statius noster**: 'our fellow-countryman Statius'. So Arch. 22 *Ennius noster.* Caecilius Statius, born among the Insubres, wrote Latin comedies which were largely borrowed from the Greek of Menander. The original of the *Synephebi* was Menander's Συνέφηβοι 'young comrades'. See Sellar, Rom. Poets of the Rep., Ch. 7.

P. 11. — 25. dis: the spellings *diis, dii* which many recent editors still keep, are probably incorrect; at all events it is certain that the nominative and ablative plural of *deus* formed *monosyllables*, except occasionally in poetry, where *dei, deis* were used. Even these *dissyllabic* forms scarcely occur before Ovid. —— **et**: emphatic at the beginning of a sentence: 'aye, and'. —— **melius**: *sc. dixit.* —— **illud**: 'the following'. A. 102, *b*, G. 292, 4; H. 450, 3. —— **idem**: *īdem*, not *ĭdem*. —— **edepol**: literally, 'ah, god Pollux', *e* being an interjection, *de* a shortened form of the vocative of *deus*, *pol* abbreviated from *Pollux*. The asseveration is mostly confined to comedy. The lines come from a play by Statius called *Plocium* (πλοκίον 'necklace'), copied from one by Menander with the same title; see Ribbeck's 'Fragmenta.' The verses are iambic trimeters. A. 365; G. 754; H. 622. —— **nil quicquam**: see n. on 21 *quemquam senem*; cf. the common expression *nemo homo*; 84 *nemo vir* etc., where two substantival words are placed side by side. —— **viti**: see n. on 1, l. 3 *praemi. Viti* here = *mali*; cf. Ter. Andr. 73 *ei vereor ne quid Andria adportet mali.* —— **sat est**: *sat* for *satis* in Cicero's time was old-fashioned

and poetical. —— **quod diu**: these words must be scanned as a spondee. The *i* in *diu* here probably had the sound of our *y*. A. 347, *c*; G. 717; H. 608, III. n. 2. Allen well compares a line of Publilius Syrus *heu quam multa paenitenda incurrunt vivendo diu*. —— **volt**: indefinite subject. —— **videt**: Tischer quotes Herod. 1, 32 (speech of Solon to Croesus) ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἔστιν ἰδέειν, τὰ μή τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθέειν. —— **tum equidem** etc.: these lines, as well as those above, occurred in a play of Statius called *Ephesio*: see Ribbeck's 'Fragmenta'. —— **senecta**: not used by prose writers before the time of silver Latin. —— **deputo**: this compound is used by the dramatists and then does not occur again till late Latin times. —— **eumpse**: like *ipse* and *reapse* (for which see n. on Lael. 47) this word contains the enclitic particle *pe* (probably another form of *que*), found in *nem-pe*, *quis-p-iam* etc., along with *se*, which belongs to an old demonstrative pronoun once declined *sos*, *sa*, *sum*, the masc. and fem. of which are seen in ὁ, ἡ. The form was no doubt originally *eumpsum*, like *ipsom* (*ipsum*), but has passed into its present form just as *ipsos* (nom.) became *ipso*, then *ipse*. The only difference in sense between *eumpse* and the simple *eum* is that the former is more emphatic. The pronoun *eumpse* is the subject of the infinitive *sentire*, but the substantive, *senex*, to which the pronoun refers, is not expressed. —— **odiosum**: cf. n. on 4.

26. iucundum . . . odiosum: elliptic, = '*iucundum*' *potius quam* '*odiosum*' *senem esse dicendum est* —— **ut . . . delectantur**: cf. Lael. 101; also below, 29 —— **sapientes senes**: neither of these words is used as an adjective here; the whole expression = *sapientes, cum facti sunt senes*. —— **levior**: cf. the fragm. of Callimachus: γηράσκει δ' ὁ γέρων κεῖνος ἐλαφρότερον, τὸν κοῦροι φιλέουσι. —— **coluntur et diliguntur**: *colere* rather implies the external marks of respect (cf. *coli* in 7), *diligere* the inner feeling of affection. —— **praeceptis** etc.: cf. Off. 1, 122 *ineuntis enim aetatis inscitia senum constituenda et regenda prudentia est*. —— **me . . . iucundos**: put for *me iucundum esse quam vos mihi estis iucundi*. The attraction of a finite verb into the infinitive after *quam* is not uncommon; cf. n. on 1 *quibus me ipsum*. Roby, 1784, *b*; A. 336, *b*, Rem; H. 524, 1, 2). *Minus*, be it observed, does not qualify *intellego*, but *iucundos*. —— **sed**: here *analeptic*, *i. e.* it introduces a return to the subject proper after a digression; so in 31. —— **videtis, ut . . . sit**: here *ut* = *quo modo*; 'how'. **senectus . . . cuiusque**: the abstract *senectus* is put for *senes* as in 34;

hence *cuiusque*, *sc. senis*. So above *adulescentia* = *adulescentes*. —— **agens aliquid**: this phrase differs from *agat* in that while the subjunctive would express the *fact* of action, the participial phrase expresses rather the constant *tendency* to act. *Agens aliquid* forms a sort of attribute to *senectus*, parallel with *operosa*. *Moliri* differs from *agere* in that it implies the bringing into existence of some object. Cf. Off. 3, 102 *agere aliquid et moliri volunt*; Acad. 2, 22 *ut moliatur aliquid et faciat*; N. D. 1, 2 *utrum di nihil agant, nihil moliantur*; Mur. 82 *et agant et moliantur*. —— **quid . . . aliquid**: for the ellipsis in *quid qui* cf. n. on 22 *quid* . . . *Addiscunt* = προμανθάνουσι = learn on and on, go on learning. —— **ut . . . videmus**: put, as Allen observes, for *ut Solon fecit, quem videmus*. —— **Solonem**: see also 50. The line (*versibus* here is an exaggeration; in 50 it is *versiculus*) is preserved by Plato in his Timaeus and by Plutarch, Sol. 31 γηράσκω δ' ἀεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος. The age of Solon at his death is variously given as 80 or 100 years. —— **videmus**: the Latins frequently use 'we see' for 'we read'. See n. on Lael. 39, also below, 69 *ut scriptum video*. —— **gloriantem**: A. 292, *e*; G. 536, 527, Rem. 1; H. 535, I. 4. Notice the change to the infinitive in *uti* below. —— **senex**: *i. e. cum senex essem*; so 27 *adulescens desiderabam*; 30 *memini puer*. Plutarch (Cato 2) gives an account of Cato's study of Greek in his old age. —— **sic**: this word does not qualify *avide*, but refers on to *quasi*, so that *sic* . . *quasi cupiens* = 'thus, *viz.* like one desiring'. Cf. n. on 12 *ita cupide fruebar quasi*; also 35 *tamquam* . . . *sic*. *Quasi* serves to soften the metaphor in *sitim*; cf. n. on Lael. 3. —— **cupiens**: after *quasi* a finite verb (*cuperem*) would have been more usual, as in 12 *ita* . . . *quasi divinarem*. Cf. however 22 *quasi desipientem*. —— **ea ipsa mihi**: for the juxtaposition of pronouns, which is rather sought after in Latin, cf. 72 *ipsa suum eadem quae*. —— **exemplis**: = *pro exemplis*, or *exemplorum loco* (cf. n. on 21 *Lysimachum*), so that those editors are wrong who say that we have here an example of the antecedent thrust into the relative clause, as though *ea ipsa quibus exemplis* were put for *ea ipsa exempla quibus*. —— **quod**: = *ut cum iam senex esset disceret*. —— **Socraten**: Cic. probably learned this fact from Plato's Menexenus 235 E and Euthydemus 272 C where Connus is named as the teacher of Socrates in music. In the Euthydemus Socrates says that the boys attending Connus' lessons laughed at him and called Connus γεροντοδιδάσκαλον. Cf. also Fam. 9, 22, 3 *Socraten fidibus docuit nobilissimus fidicen; is Connus vocitatus est*; Val.

Max. 8, 7, 8. —— **in fidibus**: 'in the case of the lyre'. Tücking quotes Quintilian 9, 2, 5 *quod in fidibus fieri videmus.* The Greek word *cithara* is not used by Cicero and does not become common in Latin prose till long after Cicero's time, though he several times uses the words *citharoedus*, *citharista*, when referring to Greek professional players. The word *lyra* too is rare in early prose; it occurs in Tusc. 1, 4 in connection with a Greek, where in the same sentence *fides* is used as an equivalent. —— **audirem**: for *audire* = *legendo cognoscere* see n. on 20. —— **vellem**: *sc. si possem.* —— **discebant . . . antiqui**: doubts have been felt as to the genuineness of the clause. In Tusc. 4, 3 a passage of Cato is quoted which refers to the use of the *tibia* among the ancient Romans; immediately afterwards the antiquity of practice on the *fides* at Rome is mentioned, though not expressly on Cato's authority. The words cannot be said to be unsuited either to the person or to the occasion. —— **discebant . . . fidibus**: the verb *canere*, which means 'to play' as well as 'to sing', must be supplied; *fidibus* is then an ablative of the means or instrument. There is the same ellipsis of *canere* in the phrases *docere fidibus* (Fam. 9, 22, 3) and *scire fidibus* (Terence, Eunuchus 133). Cf. Roby, 1217.

P. 12. — 27. ne . . . quidem: these two words together correspond to the Greek *οὐδέ* (*οὐ* = *ne*, *δέ* = *quidem*), and are best translated here by 'nor' rather than by 'not even'. The rendering 'not even', though required by some passages, will often misrepresent the Latin. —— **locus**: *locus* (like *τόπος* in Greek) is a rhetorical term with a technical meaning. The pleader is to anticipate the arguments he may find it necessary to use in different cases, and is to arrange them under certain heads; each head is called a *τόπος* or *locus*, meaning literally the *place* where a pleader is to look for an argument when wanted. Hence *locus* came to mean 'a cut-and-dried argument' or, as here, a 'commonplace'. It is often found in Cicero's rhetorical writings. —— **non plus quam**: 'any more than'. After the negative *ne* above it is incorrect to translate *non* by a negative in English, though the repetition of the negative is common enough in Latin, as in some English dialects. Cf. n. on 24. *Plus* here = *magis.* —— **quod est**: *sc. tibi*, 'what you have', so Paradoxa 18 and 52 *satis esse, quod est.* —— **agas**: *quisquis* is generally accompanied by the indicative, as in Verg. Aen. 2, 49 *quidquid id est* etc.; see Roby, 1697; A. 309, *c*; G. 246, 4; H. 476, 3. The subjunctive is here used, with the imaginary second person, to render prominent the hypothetical and indefinite character of the

verb statement. Roby, 1544-1546; Madvig, 370, 494, Obs. 5, (6). —— **vox**: 'utterance'; the word is used only of speeches in some way specially remarkable. —— **contemptior**: 'more despicable'. The passive participle of *contemno* has the sense of an adjective in *-bilis*, like *invictus* and many others. —— **Milonis**: the most famous of the Greek athletes. He lived at the end of the sixth century B. C., and the praises of his victories were sung by Simonides. It was under his leadership that his native city Croton, in Magna Graecia, attacked and destroyed Sybaris. Many stories are told by the ancients about his feats of strength (see 33), and about his power of consuming food. He is said to have been a prominent disciple of Pythagoras. —— **illacrimans**: beware of spelling *lacrima* with either *ch* for *c* or *y* for *i*; these spellings are without justification. The *y* rests on the absurd assumption that the Latins borrowed their word *lacrima* straight from the Greek δάκρυ. —— **dixisse**: combinations like *dicitur dixisse* are exceedingly rare in good Latin. Cicero nearly always uses two different verbs; *i. e.* he says *aiunt dicere* and the like. —— **at**: there is an ellipsis here such as 'those young men's muscles are powerful but . . .'. This elliptic use of *at* is common in sudden exclamations of grief, annoyance, surprise etc. —— **vero**: this is common in emphatic replies, whether the reply convey assent, or, as here, a retort. The usage is well illustrated in Nägelsbach's Stilistik, § 197, 2. —— **tam**: *sc. mortui sunt.* —— **nugator**: *nugari* = ληρεῖν, 'to trifle'. —— **ex te**: Cato here identifies a man's person with his soul and intellect, the body being regarded as a mere dress; cf. Rep. 6, 26 *mens cuiusque is est quisque. Ex te*, literally, 'out of yourself', *i. e.* 'from your real self's resources'. —— **lateribus**: see n. on 14. —— **Aelius**: his *cognomen* was Paetus; he was consul in 198, and censor in 194 B. C. He was one of the earliest and most famous writers on Roman Law. His great commentary on the XII tables is often referred to by Cicero, who several times quotes Ennius' line about him — *egregie cordatus homo catus Aelius Sextus.* —— **tale**: *sc. dixit.* —— **Coruncanius**: n. on 15. —— **P. Crassus**: consul in 205 B. C. with the elder Africanus; pontifex maximus from 212 to his death in 183. He was famous both as a lawyer (see below, 50; also Liv. 30, 1, 5 *iuris pontifici peritissimus*) and as a statesman (see 61). *Modo* therefore covers a space of at least 33 years, so that it cannot well be translated by our 'lately'; say rather 'nearer our time'. The amount of time implied by *modo* and *nuper* depends entirely on the context; for *modo* see Lael. 6 with

note, for *nuper* below, n. on 61, where it is used of Crassus as *modo* is here. —— **praescribebantur**: the meaning is that these lawyers practised in old age as jurisconsults; *i. e.* according to old Roman custom, they gave audience in the early hours of the day to all who chose to consult them about legal difficulties. —— **est provecta**: literally 'was carried forward', *i. e.* 'continued', 'remained'. Some wrongly take the phrase to mean 'made progress', 'increased', a sense which would require the imperfect, *provehebatur*. —— **prudentia**: here, as often, 'legal skill'.

28. orator: emphatic position. —— **senectute**: causal ablative; not 'in age', but 'owing to age'. —— **omnino — sed tamen**: 'no doubt — but still'. *Omnino* (literally, 'altogether') has two almost exactly opposite uses — (1) the affirmative, cf. 9; (2) the concessive, which we have here and in 45. The circumstance which is contrasted with the admitted circumstance is usually introduced by *sed tamen* or *sed* as in 45, but in Lael. 98 by the less emphatic *autem*, while in Lael. 69 there is no introductory particle. —— **canorum ... senectute**: *canorum* implies the combination of power with clearness in a voice. For the mixture of metaphors in *canorum splendescit* edd. quote Soph. Phil. 189 ἀχὼ τηλεφανής; Cic. De Or. 2, 60 *illorum tactu orationem meam quasi colorari*. —— **nescio quo pacto**: literally, 'I know not on what terms'; quite interchangeable with *nescio quo modo;* cf. 82. A. 334, *e*; G. 469, Rem. 2; H. 529, 5, 3). —— **adhuc non**: purposely put for *nondum*, because more emphasis is thus thrown both on the time-word and on the negation. The common view that *nondum* was avoided because it would have implied that Cato *expected* to lose the *canorum* is certainly wrong. —— **et videtis**: 'though you see my years'. The adversative use of *et* for *autem* or *tamen* after the negative is not very uncommon in Cicero, but there are few examples of the usage in the speeches. Cf. Lael. 26 *et quidquid;* so sometimes *que* as above, 13; also Lael. 30 *ut nullo egeat suaque omnia in se posita iudicet*. —— **seni**: Madvig's em. for *senis*. In Leg. 1, 11 allusion is made to the great change which advancing years had wrought in Cicero's own impassioned oratory. He was no doubt thinking of that change when he wrote the words we have here. —— **sermo**: 'style of speaking'; a word of wider meaning than *oratio*, which only denotes public speaking. —— **quietus et remissus**: 'subdued and gentle'. The metaphor in *remissus* (which occurs also in 81) refers to the loosening of a tight-stretched string; cf. *intentum* etc. in 37 with

n. With the whole passage cf. Plin. Ep. 3, 1, 2 *nam iuvenes confusa adhuc quaedam et quasi turbata non indecent; senibus placida omnia et ordinata conveniunt.* —— **facit audientiam**: 'procures of itself a hearing for it'. In the words *per se ipsa* there is no doubt an allusion to the custom at large meetings in ancient times whereby the *praeco* or *κῆρυξ* called on the people to listen to the speakers. Cf. Liv. 43, 16, 8 *praeconem audientiam facere iussit.* Note that this is the only classical use of the word *audientia;* it has not the meaning of our 'audience' either in the sense of a body of listeners, or as used in the expression 'to give audience'. —— **composita et mitis**: 'unimpassioned and smooth'. Cf. Quintil. 6, 2, 9 *affectus igitur hos concitatos, illos mitis atque compositos esse dixerunt.* —— **quam ... nequeas**: 'and if you cannot practise oratory yourself'. Evidently *quam* refers to *oratio* in the widest sense, not to the special style of oratory mentioned in the last sentence. With *si nequeas* cf. *nisi exerceas* in 21 with n. —— **Scipioni et Laelio**: '*a* Scipio and *a* Laelius'; *i. e.* 'young friends such as Scipio and Laelius are to me'. —— **praecipere**: here absolute, =*praecepta dare;* usually an accusative follows. —— **studiis iuventutis**: 'the zeal of youth'. *Studiis* does not imply here the deference of youth to age; the *studia* meant are the *virtutum studia* of 26.

29. ne ... instruat: *docere* is to impart knowledge, *instituere* (literally 'to ground' or 'establish') is to form the intellect and character by means of knowledge, *instruere*, to teach the pupil how he may bring his acquirements to bear in practical life. —— **offici munus**: 'performance of duty'; cf. 35, 72; Fam. 6, 14. In scores of passages in Cicero we find *officium et munus*, 'duty and function', as in 34. —— **Cn. et P. Scipiones**: in Cic the plural is always used where two men of the same family are mentioned and their names connected by *et.* In other writers the plural is regular, the singular exceptional, as in Sall. Iug. 42, 1 *Ti. et C. Gracchus;* Liv. 6, 22 *Sp. et L. Papirius.* Even with other nouns the plural is regular; *e. g.* Cic. Phil. 2, 101 *arationes Campana et Leontina*, though a little above we have *mense Aprili atque Maio.* [See Draeger, Hist. Synt. 1², p. 1.] Gnaeus (*not* Cnaeus — see n. on Lael. 3) Cornelius Scipio was consul in 222 B. C. and was sent to Spain at the outbreak of the Second Punic war to command against Hasdrubal. Publius was consul in 218, and after being defeated by Hannibal at the Ticinus, joined his brother in Spain. At first they won important successes, but in 212 they were

hemmed in and killed, after a crushing defeat. —— **L. Aemilius:** the father of Macedonicus. He was consul in 219 and defeated the Illyrii; but when consul again in 216 was defeated and killed at Cannae. See 75. For *avi duo* cf. 82. —— **consenuerint . . . defecerint:** *coniunctio*, for which see n. on 16. For the mood see A. 313, *a*; G. 608; H. 515, III. and n. 3. —— **etsi:** see n. on 2. —— **senectute:** MSS. and edd. have *senectutis*, but the sense requires the abl.

P. 18. — 30. Cyrus: the elder. —— **apud Xenophontem:** 'in Xenophon'; so in 79 where see n.; also 31 *apud Homerum*. See Cyropaedia, 8, 7, 6. —— **cum . . . esset:** '*though* he was very old', the clause depends on the following words, not on the preceding. —— **negat:** in Latin as in English the present tense is used in quotations from books. —— **Metellum:** was consul in 251 B. C. and won a great victory over the Carthaginians at Panormus (Palermo); consul again in 247. See below, 61. —— **memini . . . esse:** for the construction of *memini* with the present or perfect infinitive, see n. on Lael. 2; also A. 288, *b*; G. 277, Rem.; H. 537, 1. —— **puer:** the expression is peculiar, being abbreviated from *quod puer vidi* or something of the kind. Quintil. 8, 3, 31 has *memini iuvenis*. In Rep. 1, 23 Cicero says *memini me admodum adulescentulo*. —— **viginti et duos:** the commoner order of the words is *duos et viginti*; see n. on 13 *centum . . . annos*. —— **ei sacerdotio:** 'that sacred college'; *i. e.* the pontifical college consisting of the *pontifex maximus* and the inferior *pontifices*. —— **requireret:** see n. on 13 *quaereretur*. —— **nihil:** n. on 1, l. 1 *quid*. —— **mihi:** dat. for acc. to emphasize the person. —— **id:** 'such a course'; cf. 82 *ut de me ipse aliquid more senum glorier*.

31. videtisne ut: here *ne* is the equivalent of *nonne*, as it often is in the Latin of Plautus and Terence, and in the colloquial Latin of the classical period. For *ut* after *videtis* see n. on 26. —— **Nestor:** *e. g.* in Iliad 1, 260 *et seq.*; 11, 668 *et seq.* —— **tertiam aetatem:** cf. Iliad 1, 250; Odyssey 3, 245. —— **vera . . . se:** 'if he told the truth about himself'. —— **nimis:** 'to any great extent'. *Insolens* does not correspond to our 'insolent'; it is almost the equivalent of *ineptus*, and has no harsher meaning than 'odd', 'strange', 'in bad taste'. —— **melle dulcior:** Homer, Il. 1, 249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή. In Or. 32 Cic. says of Xenophon (whom the Greeks called Ἀττικὴ μέλιττα) that his *oratio* was *melle dulcior*. —— **suavitatem:** notice the change from *dulcior*, which seems to be made for the mere sake of variety, since elsewhere (De Or. 3, 161) Cicero

writes *dulcitudo orationis.* —— **et tamen**: see n. on 16. —— **dux ille**: Agamemnon; see Iliad 2, 370 *et seq.* —— **nusquam**: *i. e.* nowhere in Homer. —— **Aiacis**: *i. e.* Aiax Telamonius, who was the greatest Greek warrior while Achilles sulked (Iliad 2, 768). The genitive after *similis* is the rule in Cicero, though many examples of the dative are found even with names of persons; see Madv. on Fin. 5, 12.

32. sed: see n. on 26. —— **redeo ad me**: so 45; Lael. 96, Div. 1, 97 *ad nostra iam redeo;* also below, 67 *sed redeo ad mortem impendentem.* —— **vellem**: see n. on. 26. —— **idem**: A. 238; G. 331, Rem. 2; H. 371, 2. —— **quod Cyrus**: see 30. —— **queo**: the verb *queo* is rarely found without a negative, *possum* being used in positive sentences; cf. however Lael. 71 *queant*, where see n. —— **miles etc.**: see 10 above. —— **fuerim... depugnavi**: A. 336, *b*; G. 630, Rem. 1; H. 524, 2, 2). *Depugnavi* = 'fought the war out', or '*to the end*'; cf. 38, *desudans;* 44 *devicerat.* —— **enervavit**: *enervare* is literally 'to take out the sinews'; cf. the expressions *nervos elidere* (Tusc. 2, 27) and *nervos incidere* (Academ. 1, 35) both of which are used in a secondary or metaphorical sense. —— **curia**: = *senatus.* —— **rostra**: cf. n. on 44 *devicerat.* —— **fieri**: A. 331, *a*; G. 546, Rem 1; H. 498, I. n. —— **esse**: emphatic, = *vivere;* see n. on 21. —— **ego vero etc.**: 'I however would rather that my old age should be shorter than that I should be old before my time'. —— **mallem**: see n. on 26 *vellem.*

P. 14. — **nemo cui fuerim**: cf. Plaut. Mercator 2, 2, 17 *quamquam negotium est, numquam sum occupatus amico operam dare.*

33. at: as in 21, where see n. —— **T. Ponti centurionis**: the centurions were generally men of powerful frame; cf. Veget. 2, 14 *centurio elegendus est, qui sit magnis viribus et procera statura;* Philipp. 8, 26 *centuriones pugnaces et lacertosos;* Horat. Sat. 1, 6, 72. —— **moderatio**: 'a right application'; literally 'a governing'. —— **tantum ... nitatur**: cf. 27 *quidquid agas agere pro viribus*, also 34 *quantum possumus.* —— **ne**: the affirmative *ne*, often wrongly written *nae* on the absurd assumption that the word passed into Latin from the Greek *ναί*, is in Cicero always and in other writers nearly always followed by a pronoun. For the form of the sentence here cf. Fam. 7, 1, 3 *ne ... nostrum;* Tusc. 3, 8 *ne ista* etc.; Fin 3, 11 (almost the same words). —— **per stadium**: 'over the course'; cf. Athenaeus 10, 4, p. 412 E; Lucian, Charon, 8; Quint. 1, 9, 5 *Milo quem vitulum*

assueverat ferre, taurum ferebat. As to Milo see n. on 27. For *cum sustineret* a modern would have been inclined to use a participle, which was perhaps avoided here because of the close proximity of another participle, *ingressus.* ——**umeris**: this spelling is better than *humeris*, which is now abandoned by the best scholars. There is no sound corresponding to the *h* in words of the same origin in cognate languages (see Curtius, Greek Etym. 1, 423 of the Eng. Trans.), and although undoubtedly *h* was wrongly attached to some Latin words, there is no evidence to show that this happened to *umerus.* —— **has**: *i. e. Milonis*, corresponding to *Pythagorae.* —— **Pythagorae**: chosen no doubt because tradition made Milo a Pythagorean; see n. on 27. —— **malis**: *i. e. si optandum sit* (cf. Plaut. Miles 170). For the ellipsis see n. on 26. —— **denique**: 'in short'. —— **utare**: the second person of the present subjunctive hortative is very rare, excepting when, as here, the command is general. Had the command been addressed to a particular person, Cicero might have written *ne requisieris.* Cf. Madvig, Opusc. 2, 105; Roby, 1596; A. 266, *a*, *b*; G. 256, 2; H. 484, 4, n. 2. —— **dum adsit, cum absit**: as both *dum* and *cum* evidently have here a temporal sense, the subjunctives seem due to the influence of the other subjunctives *utare* and *requiras.* A. 342; G. 666; H. 529, II. and n. 1, 1). —— **nisi forte**: see n. on 18. —— **cursus**: for the metaphor cf. n. on 83; also Fam. 8, 13, 1 (a letter of Coelius) *aetate iam sunt decursa;* pro Quint. 99 *acta aetas decursaque.* For *certus* cf. below, 72 *senectutis certus terminus.* —— **aetatis**: here = *vitae;* see n. on 5. —— **eaque**: this is a common way of introducing with emphasis a fresh epithet or predicate. Often *idque* (καὶ τοῦτο) occurs, the pronoun being then adverbially used, and not in agreement with the subject. Cf. n. on 65 *illius quidem;* also *neque ea* in 22. —— **simplex**: life is compared to a race, in which each man has to run once and only once around the course. —— **tempestivitas**: 'seasonableness'; cf. 5 *maturitate tempestiva*, with n. —— **infirmitas**: the context shows that not physical but intellectual weakness is meant; so in Acad. 2, 9 *infirmissimo tempore aetatis;* Fin. 5, 43 *aetas infirma.* —— **ferocitas**: 'exultation', 'high spirit'. —— **iam constantis aetatis**: *i. e.* middle age, the characteristic of which is *stability;* cf. 76 *constans aetas quae media dicitur;* also 60; Tac. A. 6, 46 *composita aetas.* For *iam* cf. Suet. Galb. 4 *aetate nondum constanti;* pro Caelio 41 *aetas iam corroborata;* Fam. 10, 3, 2 *aetas iam confirmata.* —— **maturitas**: 'ripeness', *i. e.* of intellect or judgment. —— **suo**: G. 295, Rem. 1; H. 449, 2.

34. audire te arbitror: 'I think that news reaches you'. —— **hospes**: see n. on 28 *orator*. —— **avitus**: there was a strong friendship between the elder Africanus and Masinissa, king of Numidia, who in 206 B. C. passed over from the Carthaginian alliance to that of the Romans. He was richly rewarded by Scipio, and remained loyal to Rome till his death. He lived to welcome the younger Scipio in Africa during the last Punic war, and to see the utter ruin of Carthage. See Sall. Iug. 5, 4. For the expression *hospes tuus avitus* cf. Plautus, Miles 135 *paternum suom hospitem*. —— **cum ingressus** etc.: *i. e.* protracted exercise of one kind did not weary him. —— **cum ... equo**: though Cic. says *in equo vehi, esse, sedere* etc. the preposition here is left out because a mere ablative of manner or means is required to suit the similar ablative *pedibus*. So Div. 2, 140 *equus in quo vehebar*, 'the horse on which I rode'; but ib. 1, 58 *equo advectus ad ripam*, 'brought to the bank *by the aid* of a horse'. —— **siccitatem**: 'wiriness', literally 'dryness' or freedom from excessive perspiration, colds and the like; cf. Tusc. 5, 99 *siccitatem quae consequitur continentiam in victu;* Catull. 23, 12 *corpora sicciora cornu*. —— **regis**: here = *regia*. —— **officia et munera**: see n. on 29. —— **ne sint**: 'grant that age has no strength'. This formula of concession for argument's sake is frequent in Cicero, who often attaches to it *sane*. A. 266, *d*; G. 610; H. 515, III. —— **senectute** = *senibus:* see n. on 26. —— **legibus et institutis**: 'by statute and precedent'. —— **muneribus eis** etc.: chiefly military service. —— **non modo ... sed ne quidem**: when a negative follows *non modo* these words have the force of *non modo non*, a negative being borrowed from the negative in the subsequent clause. But often *non modo non* is written; the negative after *modo* is then more emphatic, being independent. Here *non modo non quod non* would have had a harsh sound. A. 149, *e*; G. 484, 3 and Rem. 1.; H. 552, 2. —— **quod**: adv. acc. (see n. on 1 *quid*). Cf. Liv. 6, 15 *sed vos id cogendi estis*.

35. at: as in 21, where see n. In his reply Cato adopts the same form as that in which the objection is urged, *at id quidem* etc. So in 68 *at senex ... at est ...*

P. 15. — commune valetudinis: 'common to weak health', *i. e.* to all in a weak state of health. *Valetudo* means in itself neither good nor bad health; the word takes its coloring from the context. —— **filius is qui**: a pause must be made at *filius;* the sense is not 'that son of Africanus who adopted you', but 'the son of Africanus, I mean

the man who adopted you'. —— **quod ni ita fuisset**: 'now if this had not been so'; a phrase like *quod cum ita sit* and *hoc ita dici.* Cf. also 67 *quod ni ita accideret;* 82 *quod ni ita se haberet.* —— **alterum ... civitatis**: *illud* is put for *ille*, by attraction to *lumen*. Roby, 1068. A. 195, *d*; G. 202, Rem. 5; H. 445, 4. Cf. Fin. 2, 70 *Epicurus, hoc enim vestrum lumen est,* 'Epicurus, for *he* is your shining light'. —— **vitia**: 'defects'. —— **diligentia**: scarcely corresponds to our 'diligence'; it rather implies minute, patient attention; 'painstaking'.

36. habenda ... valetudinis: 'attention must be paid to health'; so *valetudini consulere* (Fam. 16, 4, 3) *operam dare* (De Or. 1, 265) *indulgere* (Fam. 16, 18, 1) *valetudinem curare* often; cf. also Fam. 10, 35, 2; Fin. 2, 64. —— **tantum**: restrictive, = 'only so much'; so in 69, and often. —— **potionis**: *cibus et potio* is the regular Latin equivalent for our 'food and drink'; see below, 46; also Tusc. 5, 100; Fin. 1, 37; Varro de Re Rust. 1, 1, 5. —— **adhibendum**: *adhibere* has here merely the sense of 'to employ' or 'to use'. Cf. Fin. 2, 64. —— **non**: we should say 'and not' or 'but not'; the Latins, however, are fond of *asyndeton*, called *adversativum*, when two clauses are contrasted. —— **menti ... animo**: properly *mens* is the intellect, strictly so called, *animus* intellect and feeling combined, but the words are often very loosely used. They often occur together in Latin; Lucretius has even *mens animi.* —— **instilles**: see n. on 21 *exerceas.* —— **et**: 'moreover'. —— **exercitando**: in good Latin the verb *exercitare* is rare except in *exercitatus*, which stands as participle to *exerceo, exercitus* being unused. The word seems to have been chosen here as suiting *exercitationibus* better than *exercendo* would. So in 47 *desideratio* is chosen rather than *desiderium*, to correspond with the neighboring *titillatio.* —— **ait**: *sc. esse;* the omission with *aio* is rare, though common with *dico, appello* etc.; see n. on 22. —— **comicos**: not 'comic' in our sense, but = *in comoediis*, 'represented in comedy'. So Rosc. Am. 47 *comicum adulescentem*, 'the young man of comedy'. The passage of Caecilius (see n. on 24 *Statius*) is more fully quoted in Lael. 99. —— **credulos**: in almost every Latin comedy there is some old man who is cheated by a cunning slave. —— **somniculosae**: the adj. contains a diminutive noun stem (*somniculo-*). —— **petulantia**: 'waywardness'. —— **non proborum**: Cic. avoids *improborum* as being too harsh; with exactly similar feeling Propertius 3, 20, 52 (ed. Paley) says *nec proba Pasiphae* for *et improba P.* Cf. Off. 3, 36 *error hominum non proborum.* —— **ista**: implying contempt. A. 102, *c*; G. 291, Rem.;

H. 450, 1. n. and foot-note 4. —— **deliratio**: 'dotage'; a rare word, used by Cic. only here and in Div. 2, 90.

37. robustos: 'sturdy'; implying that the sons were grown up. —— **tantam**: *sc. quantam habuit;* only a little more emphatic than *magnam* would have been; see n. on 52. —— **Appius**: see n. on 16. —— **regebat**: the *pater familias* in early Roman times was an almost irresponsible ruler over his children and household. For a full discussion of the *patria potestas* see Coulanges, Ancient City, Bk. II. Ch. 8; Maine, Ancient Law, Ch. 5; Hadley, Introd. to Roman Law, Chapters 5 and 6. —— **et ... senex**: 'though both blind and old'. —— **intentum**: commonly used of *animus*, like the opposite *remissus* (28). —— **tenebat** etc.: the *patria potestas* is often denoted by the word *imperium;* cf. De Invent. 2, 140 *imperium domesticum*. —— **vigebat** etc.: 'in him ancestral spirit and principles were strong'. While *animus patrius* here evidently means the strong will for which the patrician Claudii were proverbial (as *e. g.* in Rosc. Am. 46 *intellegere qui animus patrius sit in liberos*) it indicates the feeling of a particular father for his children.

P. 16. — 38. ita: = *ea lege* 'on these conditions, viz ...', the clause with *si* being an explanation of *ita*. This correspondence of *ita ... si* is common in Cicero; see n. on 12 *ita ... quasi*. Here translate 'age can only be in honor if it fights for itself'. —— **se ipsa**: cf. Cic. Acad. 2, 36 *veritas se ipsa defendet;* see also the n. on 4. —— **si ... est**: 'if it has passed into bondage to nobody'. *Mancipium* is a piece of property; *emancipare* is to pass a piece of property out of its owner's hands. The word acquired two exactly opposite meanings. When used of a slave, or of a son *in patria potestate*, who was legally subject to many of the same ordinances as a slave, it means 'to set free', unless, as in Fin. 1, 24 *filium in adoptionem D. Silano emancipaverat*, some person is mentioned to whom the original owner makes over his rights. But in Plaut. Bacchid. 1, 1, 90 *mulier, tibi me emancupo* the sense is 'I enslave myself to you', *i. e.* 'I pass myself out of my own power into yours'. So in the well-known passage of Horace, Epod. 9, 12 (of Antony) *emancipatus feminae* 'enslaved to a woman'; cf. Cic. Phil. 2, 51 *venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum*. —— **senile aliquid ... aliquid adulescentis**: chiasmus. For the sense cf. 33 *ferocitas iuvenum ... senectutis maturitas*. —— **quod qui sequitur**: 'and he who strives after this', *i. e.* to combine the virtues of age and youth. Cf. Aesch. Sept. 622 γέροντα τὸν νοῦν σάρκα δ' ἡβῶσαν φύει.

—— **mihi ... est in manibus**: 'I have on hand', 'am busy with'. Cf. n. on 22. —— **Originum**: as to Cato's literary labors see Introd. —— **omnia colligo**: referring to the materials Cato was collecting for his 'Origines'. —— **quascunque defendi**: 'as many as I have conducted'. *Defendere causam* here is simply to act as counsel in a case, whether the client be defendant or plaintiff. So in Lael. 96 and often. —— **nunc cum maxime**: 'now more than ever', *νῦν μάλιστα*. The phrase is elliptic; in full it would be '*cum maxime conficio orationes, nunc conficio*', 'when I most of all compose speeches, I now compose them'; *i. e.* 'the time when I most of all compose is now'. The words *cum maxime* generally follow *tum* or *nunc* and add emphasis to those words, but are sometimes used alone to express the ideas 'then' and 'now' more emphatically than *tum* and *nunc* would. Cf. Ver. 4, 82; Tac. Ann. 4, 27. The orators were in the habit of working over their speeches carefully for publication and preservation. —— **ius augurium etc.**: 'the law pertaining to the augurs and pontifices'; *i. e.* the principles applied by them in the performance of their duties. The pontifices had the general oversight of religious observances. See Dict. of Antiq. —— **civile**: the meaning of *ius civile* varies according to the context. Here it is the secular law as opposed to the sacred law, as in 50; sometimes it is the whole body of Roman law as opposed to the law of other states; often, again, it is the older portion of the Roman law as opposed to the newer or 'equity' portion. —— **commemoro**: 'I say over to myself'. In Cicero *commemoro* is a verb of speaking, and never has the meaning of *recordor* or *memini*. —— **curricula**: see nn. on 33. —— **magno opere**: better so written than in one word *magnopere*; so *maximo, minimo, nimio opere*. —— **adsum amicis**: 'I act as counsel to my friends'. This legal sense of *adesse* is common. —— **frequens**: literally the word means 'crowded' (connected with *farcire* 'to cram' or 'to crowd together'), hence *frequens senatus* and the like phrases. Then *frequens* comes to be used of actions or events that often recur; *e. g.* Orat. 15 *Demosthenes frequens Platonis auditor*; De Or. 1, 243 *frequens te audivi.* On the use of the adj. here see A. 191; G. 324, Rem. 6; H. 443. —— **ultro**: 'unasked', 'of my own motion', a reference to the well-known story that, whatever subject was discussed, Cato gave as his opinion '*delenda est Carthago*'. See Introd. —— **tueor**: 'advocate', 'support'. —— **lectulus**: a couch usually stood in the Roman study, on which the student reclined while reading, composing

or dictating, or even writing. Cf. De Or. 3, 17, *in eam exedram venisse in qua Crassus lectulo posito recubuisset, cumque eum in cogitatione defixum esse sensisset, statim recessisse* . . .; Suet. Aug. 78 *lecticula lucubratoria*. —— **ea ipsa cogitantem**: = *de eis ipsis cog.*: so Acad. 2, 127 *cogitantes supera atque caelestia*, and often. —— **acta vita**: 'the life I have led'; cf. 62 *honeste acta superior aetas;* so Tusc. 1, 109; Fam. 4, 13, 4. —— **viventi**: dative of reference. A. 235; G. 354; H. 384, 4, n. 3. 'As regards one who lives amid these pursuits and tasks'. —— **ita sensim** etc.: *sensim sine sensu* (observe the alliteration) is like *mentes dementis* in 16, where see n. *Sensim* must have meant at one time 'perceptibly', then 'only just perceptibly', then 'gradually' and almost 'imperceptibly'.

39. quod . . . dicunt: not strictly logical, being put for *quod careat, ut dicunt*. In cases like this the verb of saying is usually in the subjunctive. Cf. Roby, 1746; A. 341, Rem.; G. 541, Rem. 2; H. 516, II. 1. The indicative here is more vivid and forcible. —— **munus . . . aufert**: to say that a gift robs one of anything is of course an *oxymoron;* cf. n. on 16 *mentes dementis*. —— **aetatis**: almost = *senectutis*: cf. n. on 45. —— **id quod est** etc.: 'the greatest fault of youth'; *i. e.* the love of pleasure. In this passage *voluptas* indicates pleasure of a sensual kind, its ordinary sense, *delectatio*, *oblectatio* etc. being used of the higher pleasures. In 51, however, we have *voluptates agricolarum*. —— **accipite**: 'hear'; so *dare* often means 'to tell'. With *accipere* in this sense cf. the similar use of ἀποδέχεσθαι. —— **Archytae**: Archytas (the subject of Horace's well-known ode, 1, 28) was a contemporary and friend of Plato, and a follower of the Pythagorean philosophy. He wrote philosophical works, and was also famous as a mathematician and astronomer, besides being the leading statesman and general of the commonwealth of Tarentum. For another saying of Archytas, cf. Lael. 88. —— **tradita est**: 'was imparted to me', *i. e.*, by word of mouth. —— **cum . . . Tarenti**: 'when as a young man I stayed at Tarentum'. For *adulescens* cf. n. on 26 *senes*. —— **nullam . . . pestem** etc.: cf. Lael. 34 *pestem . . . cupiditatem;* Off. 2, 9 *consuetudo . . . honestatem ab utilitate secernens, qua nulla pernicies maior hominum vitae potuit afferri*. —— **capitaliorem**: 'more deadly'; *caput* was often equivalent to *vita*, so that *capitalis* comes to mean 'affecting the life'.

P. 17.—40. hinc etc.: cf. Cic. Hortensius fragm. *quod turpe damnum, quod dedecus est quod non evocetur atque eliciatur voluptate?* Ob-

serve the singular *patriae* followed by the plural *rerum publicarum*; the plural of *patria* is rare. On the significance of this passage see Lecky, Hist. of European Morals, I. p. 211, n. (Am. ed.). —— **cum hostibus** etc.: attributive phrase; cf. Phil. 12, 27 *colloquia cum acerrimis hostibus.* —— **scelus**: this word looks chiefly to the criminal intention, whether it be carried into action or not, *malum*, *facinus* to the completed crime; *flagitium* is sin rather than crime. *Facinus* in sense is often rather narrower and lighter than *scelus*; cf. Verr. 5, 170 *facinus est vincire civem Romanum, scelus verberare, prope parricidium necare.* —— **impelleret**: *sc. homines*; so *nos* is omitted after *iubebat* below. —— **excitari**: 'stirred up'. In 39 and 41 we have the verb *in-citare*; for the difference between the two verbs cf. Qu. Fr. 1, 1, 45 *haec non eo dicuntur, ut te oratio mea dormientem excitasse, sed potius ut currentem incitasse videatur.* —— **homini . . . dedisset**: cf. Acad. 1, 7 *nec ullum arbitror maius aut melius a dis datum munus homini.* Notice *homini* 'man', in the same sense as *hominibus*, above. —— **muneri ac dono**: the two words *munus* and *donum* are often found together; the difference in meaning is hardly perceptible. *Donum* implies the fact of giving, *munus* the generosity of the giver. —— **tam . . . inimicum**: notice the separation of *tam* from *inimicum.*

41. libidine: = ἐπιθυμία; *temperantia* = σωφροσύνη. *Dominari* is a very strong word, 'to tyrannize'; *dominatio* = τυραννίς. For *locum* cf. Lael. 52 *in tyranni vita nullus locus est amicitiae.* —— **consistere**: 'find a foothold'. Cf Fin. 4, 69 *sapientia pedem ubi poneret non habebat.* —— **fingere animo**: 'to imagine'. —— **tanta . . . quanta . . . maxima**: 'the greatest that could possibly be enjoyed'. The form of expression is common, *e. g.* Lael. 74 *tanta quanta maxima potest esse distantia.* —— **tam diu dum**: this is not exactly equivalent to the ordinary *tam diu quam*, but there is ellipsis — 'so long as this, I mean while etc.'. Cf. Cat. 3, 16 *tam diu, dum urbis moenibus continebatur*; Off. 1, 2 *tam diu . . . quoad . . .* —— **mente . . . ratione . . . cogitatione**: 'by thought, by reasoning, by imagination'. *Cogitatio* like διάνοια has often the sense of 'imagination'. The close juxtaposition of words nearly synonymous is quite characteristic of Cicero's Latin. —— **quidem**: concessive, as in 32 and often. —— **maior atque longior**: 'very intense and protracted'. Superlatives might have been expected, in view of *quanta percipi posset maxima* above. *Longus* in the sense of 'long-continued' is rare in Ciceronian Latin, excepting when, as in 66 *longa aetate*, it is joined with a word dis-

tinctly referring to time. For the general drift of the passage cf. Cic. Hortensius (fragment) *congruere cum cogitatione magna voluptas corporis non potest; quis enim, cum utatur voluptate ea qua nulla possit maior esse, attendere animum, inire rationes, cogitare omnino quidquam potest?* —— **animi lumen**: a common metaphor; *e. g.* Cic. Rep. 6, 12 *tu, Africane, ostendas oportebit patriae lumen animi tui.* Cf. 36 *haec ... exstinguuntur;* also below, 42 *mentis oculos.* —— **C. Pontio**: C. Pontius Herennius, the father of C. Pontius Telesinus who defeated the Romans at the Caudine Forks during the Second Samnite war, in 321 B. C. The father is several times mentioned by Livy 9, cc. 1 and 3; cf. especially 1, § 2 *C. Pontium, patre longe prudentissimo natum.* —— **Nearchus**: mentioned by Plutarch, Cato 2, as a Pythagorean and friend of Cato. —— **permanserat**: *i. e.* during the siege of Tarentum. —— **interfuisset**: not in accordance with English idiom; cf. n. on 4 *putassent;* also 44 *devicerat.* —— **Plato** etc.: although Plato made two journeys to Italy and Sicily (or, as some authorities say, three) it is scarcely likely that he was present at Tarentum in the year mentioned, 349 B. C., two years before his death, when he was of advanced age. The latest date assigned by other authorities for Plato's last visit to the West is 361 B. C. —— **reperio**: *sc. in annalibus;* so in 15; cf. *videmus* in 26.

42. efficeret: *efficeret, liberet,* and *oporteret* can be properly rendered into English only by the present tense. Although these verbs express circumstances which *continue,* since the *general* effect of old age is being described, they are thrown into the past to suit the past tense *dicebam* or *dixi* which, though not expressed, is really the principal verb. Cf. below, 62, 78. —— **consilium**: 'deliberation'.

P. 18. — **ut ita dicam**: this softens the metaphor, as *quasi* or *quasi quidam* often does, and as οἷον, ὥσπερ do in Greek [but not ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, which is often wrongly said to be the equivalent of *ut ita dicam;* see n. on Lael. 2]. The phrase *mentis* or *animi aciem praestringere* often occurs without anything to soften the metaphor; *e. g.* Fin. 4, 37. —— **nec habet** etc.: 'and has no relations with virtue'. The use of *commercium* in the metaphorical sense is common. —— **invitus**: see ref. on 38 *frequens.* —— **feci ut**: a periphrasis not unusual. A. 332, *e*; G. 557; H. 498, II. n. 2. —— **T. Flaminini**: see n. on 1, l. 1. —— **L. Flamininum**: as prætor he commanded the fleet under his brother Titus during the Macedonian war; in 192 B. C. he was consul. *Septem annis* denotes seven *complete* years (cf. n. on 19), as

Cato was censor in 184. A reference to Livy 39, 43, 2 will show that Cicero borrows his account of Flamininus' crime from the old annalist Valerius Antias. Livy also quotes (39, 42, 7) an account of the matter given by Cato himself in a speech, which is even more disgraceful to Flamininus. —— **eicerem**: the phrase commonly used is not *eicere*, but *movere, aliquem senatu*. *Notare* and *nota* (*censoria*) are technically used of degradation or disfranchisement inflicted by the censors. For the spelling see Roby, 144, 2; A. 10, *d*; H. 36, 4 and foot-note 1. —— **fuisset**: for the mood see A. 342; G. 666; H. 529, II. and n. 1, 1); for the tense see Roby, 1491; A. 324, *a*; G. 233, 2; H. 471, 4. —— **cum ... Gallia**: not 'when he was consul in Gaul' but 'when he was in Gaul during his consulship'. *Cum* with the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive often has a sense differing very little from that of *cum* with the imperfect or pluperfect indicative. No doubt when the usage originally arose, the clause with *cum* was regarded as expressing the *cause* of the action or event denoted by the principal verb; here the presence of F. in Gaul might be regarded as *a cause* of the crime. It is more than doubtful, however, whether in actual use the subjunctive in these phrases continued to carry with it to Latin readers any idea of cause. See Roby, 1720, Kennedy, 211; also A. 325, 323 and foot-note 1; G. 586 with Rem.; H. 521, II. 2 and foot-note 1. —— **exoratus est**: 'was persuaded'; cf. Liv. 39, 43. —— **securi feriret**: the story was that L. Flamininus himself acted as executioner. —— **eorum qui ... essent**: the subjunctive because of the class-notion, 'of such persons as were'. —— **Tito censore**: *i. e.* in 189 B. C.; see n. on 1. —— **Flacco**: L. Valerius Flaccus was the life-long friend of Cato, and his colleague in the consulship and in the censorship. He entirely favored Cato's political views. See Introd. —— **imperi dedecus**: Flamininus was at the time Roman governor of the district.

43. audivi e: Cic. uses *audire ex*, *ab*, and *de aliquo*, almost indifferently. —— **porro**: 'in turn'; literally 'farther on', here = 'farther back'; cf. Livy 27, 51. —— **C. Fabricium**: see n. on 15. —— **Cinea**: the famous diplomatist, minister of Pyrrhus. He was a pupil of Demosthenes and himself one of the most famous orators of his time. Cineas was the ambassador who tried to negotiate peace on the occasion mentioned in 16. —— **se sapientem profiteretur**: the omission of *esse* is common in such phrases; *e. g.* Fin. 5, 13 *Strato physicum se voluit*. Epicurus, who is here meant (born 342 B. C., died 270), was blamed for calling himself *σοφός* or *sapiens*. Others, says Cicero, who

had borne the title had waited for the public to confer it on them (Fin. 2, 7). —— **eumque**: 'and yet he'; cf. n. on 13 *vixitque*. —— **faceremus**: for the tense cf. n. on 42 *efficeret;* also *expeteretur* below. —— **ad ... referenda**: 'ought to be judged by the standard of pleasure', *i. e.* anything which brings pleasure may be regarded as good, and its opposite bad. So in Greek ἐπαναφέρειν τὶ εἴς τι. On the moral teachings of Epicurus consult Zeller, Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, Ch. 19; Ueberweg, History of Philosophy, § 59; Guyan, La morale d'Épicure et ses rapports avec les doctrines contemporaines. —— **Curium ... Coruncanium**: see n. on 15. —— **id ... persuaderetur**: intransitive verbs are used in the passive only impersonally (Roby, 1422; A. 230; G. 199, Rem. 1; H. 301, 1); when so used the dative may follow as in the active (see Madvig, 244, *b*; G. 208; H. 384, 5). A neuter pronoun in the singular sometimes, as here, accompanies the passive, and may be regarded as an adverbial accusative of respect or extent, or as a nominative qualifying the impersonal subject. The former is probably the real construction. Cf. Roby, 1423, and Madvig, 229, *b*, Obs. 1. —— **Samnitibus**: then in alliance with Pyrrhus. —— **vixerat ... cum**: not to be taken literally of living in the same house; the phrase merely indicates close friendship. In Acad. 2, 115 Cic. writes *Diodoto qui mecum vivit tot annos, qui habitat apud me*, clearly showing that the phrases *vivere cum aliquo* and *habitare apud aliquem* are not equivalent. —— **P. Decio**: this is P. Decius Mus, who at the battle of Sentinum in 295 gave his life as a propitiatory offering to the powers of the unseen world, in order to bring victory to the Roman arms. His father had sacrificed himself in the same way at the battle of Veseris (close to Vesuvius) in 340, fought against the Latins and Campanians. —— **devoverat**: Liv. 10, 28, 13 (speech of Decius) *datum hoc nostro generi est ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus; iam ego mecum hostium legiones mactandas Telluri et dis Manibus dabo.* —— aliquid etc.: 'some principle'; in his philosophical works Cicero often confounds the Epicureans by quoting the action of the Decii and others like it, as showing that pleasure is not the end of existence. Cf. especially Fin. 2, 61 *P. Decius cum se devoverat et equo admisso in mediam aciem Latinorum irruebat, aliquid de voluptatibus suis cogitabat?* Cf. also below, 75. With regard to *natura* see n. on 5. —— **sua sponte**: 'for its own sake'; 'on its own account' Cf. Leg. 1, 45 *vera et falsa sua sponte non aliena iudicantur*, where a few lines later *sua natura* occurs as equivalent to *sua sponte* —— ex-

peteretur: em. for *peteretur* in the MSS. The words *expetere, expetendum* are technically used in Cicero's philosophical works to express the Greek αἱρεῖσθαι, αἱρετόν as applied to the *finis* or τέλος, the supreme aim of moral action. *Pulchrum* above is a translation of the Greek καλόν, a term constantly applied to the τέλος, particularly by the Stoics. —— **spreta et contempta**: the first word is much the stronger of the two; *spernere* is καταφρονεῖν, 'to scorn'; *contemnere* ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι, 'to make light of', 'hold of no account'. *Contemnere* is often no stronger in sense than *omittere*, 'to pass by, neglect'. Cf. 65 *contemni, despici.* —— **optimus quisque**: see A. 93, *c*; G. 305; H. 458, 1.

P. 19. — 44. cruditate: 'indigestion'. —— **insomniis**: 'sleeplessness'; the singular *insomnium* occurs only once in prose (Tac. Ann. 11, 4). *Insomnia, ae* is found only in poetry and late prose. —— **divine**: this word in Cic. often means nothing more than 'splendidly', 'extraordinarily'. —— **escam malorum**: 'an enticement to evil' (*esca* = *ed-ca*, from the root of *edo*). Plato in the Timaeus 69 D (a dialogue translated into Latin by Cicero, a fragment of whose translation is still preserved) has ἡδονὴν μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ. Cf. also Cic. Hortensius fr. 76 (ed. Halm) *voluptates corporis quae vere et graviter a Platone dictae sunt illecebrae esse atque escae malorum.* —— **modicis**: for the sake of variety Cic. chooses this, not *moderatis*, as the opposite of *immoderatis*. Trans. 'a moderate amount of goodfellowship'. —— **M. F.** = *Marci filium.* —— **devicerat**: pluperfect where a modern would incline to use a perfect. The battle referred to is that of Mylae, fought in 260; its memory was perpetuated by the decking of the *forum* with the *rostra* of the captured ships; the *columna rostrata* bore a long inscription, a restored version of which still exists. —— **cena**: so best spelt; some good texts still print *caena*, but *coena* is decidedly wrong, being based on the fiction that the Latin borrowed the Greek word κοινή and turned it into *coena.* —— **cereo funali**: 'the torchlight'; *cereo*, the em. of Mommsen for *crebro*; the *funale* was a torch composed of withs or twigs twisted into a rope (*funis*) and dipped in pitch or oil. —— **sibi ... sumpserat**: Cic. seems to think that Duillius assumed these honors on his own authority. This was probably not the case; they were most likely conferred on him by a vote of the *comitia tributa.* Cf. Liv. epit. 17 *C. Duillius primus omnium Romanorum ducum navalis victoriae duxit triumphum, ob quam causam ei perpetuus quoque honos habitus est, ut revertenti a cena tibicine canente funale praeferretur.* No other instance is known where these particu

lar distinctions were decreed; the nearest parallel lies in the right accorded to Paulus Macedonicus and to Pompeius to wear the triumphal *toga picta* for life on each occasion of the *ludi*. It may be conjectured that the music and the torch were part of the ceremony on the evening of a triumph when the *triumphator* was escorted home. Cf. Florus 1, 18, 10, ed. Halm. —— **nullo exemplo**: 'without any precedent'. —— **privatus**: any person is *privatus* who is not actually in office at the moment referred to, whether he has led a public life or not. —— **licentiae**: a strong word is used to mark the heinousness of Duillius' supposed offence against ancestral custom.

45. alios: *sc. nomino.* —— **primum**: the corresponding *deinde* is omitted, as often. —— **sodalis**: the *sodalitates* or *sodalitia*, brotherhoods for the perpetuation of certain rites accompanied with feasting, were immemorial institutions at Rome. The clause *sodalitates ... acceptis* must not be taken to mean that Cicero supposed these brotherhoods to have been first instituted in the time of Cato; it is only introduced to show that Cato, so far from being averse to good living, assisted officially in the establishment of new clubs. Most of the *sodalitates* were closely connected with the *gens*; all members of a *gens* were *sodales* and met together to keep up the old *sacra*, but in historical times fictitious kinship largely took the place of real kinship, and feasting became almost the sole raison d'être of these clubs. [See Mommsen's treatise *De collegiis et sodaliciis Romanis*.] The parallel of the London City Companies readily suggests itself. The national *sodalitates* or priesthoods such as those of the *Sodales Titii*, *Luperci*, *Augustales* etc. were somewhat different. —— **autem**: for the form of the parenthesis cf. 7. —— **Magnae Matris**: the image of Cybele was brought to Rome in 204 B.C. from Pessinus in Phrygia. See Liv. 29, 10. The *Sacra* are called *Idaea* from Mount Ida in Phrygia, which was a great centre of the worship of Cybele. *Acceptis*, sc. *in civitatem*; the worship of strange gods was in principle illegal at Rome unless expressly authorized by the State. —— **igitur**: the construction of the sentence is broken by the introduction of the parenthesis, and a fresh start is made with *epulabar igitur*. *Igitur* is often thus used, like our 'well then', to pick up the broken thread of a sentence. So often *sed* or *ergo*. —— **fervor**: Cf. Hor. Od. 1, 16, 22 *me quoque pectoris temptavit in dulci iuventa fervor*. —— **aetatis, qua progrediente**: 'belonging to that time of life, but as life advances'. The word *aetas* has really two senses here; in the first place it is *bona aetas* or *iuventus*

(cf. 39 where *aetas* = *senectus*), in the second place *vita* (for which see n. on 5). —— **neque enim**: the *enim* refers to *modice*. —— **coetu ... sermonibus**: for the order of the words see n. on 1 *animi tui*. —— **metiebar**: cf. n. on 43 *referenda*. —— **accubitionem**: a *vox Ciceroniana*, rarely found in other authors. —— **vitae coniunctionem**: 'a common enjoyment of life'. —— **tum ... tum**: here purely temporal, 'sometimes ... sometimes'; often however = 'both ... and'; cf. 7. —— **compotationem** etc.: cf. Epist. ad Fam. 9, 24, 3. *Compotatio* = *συμπόσιον*; *concenatio* = *σύνδειπνον*. —— **in eo genere**: see n. on 4. —— **id**: *i. e.* eating and drinking.

46. tempestivis ... conviviis: 'even in protracted banquets'. Those banquets which began *early* in order that they might last long were naturally in bad repute, so that the phrase *tempestivum convivium* often has almost the sense of 'a debauch'. Thus in Att. 9, 1, 3 Cicero describes himself as being evil spoken of *in tempestivis conviviis*, *i. e.* in dissolute society. Cf. pro Arch. 13. The customary dinner hour at Rome was about three o'clock in the afternoon. The word *tempestivus*, which in 5 means 'at the right time', here means 'before the right time'. So in English 'in good time' often means 'too early'. See Becker's Gallus, p. 451 *et seq.* —— **qui pauci**: the substitution of the nominative of the relative for the partitive genitive (*quorum*) is not uncommon. A. 216, *e*; G. 368, Rem. 2; H. 397, 2, n. —— **pauci admodum**: Cic. usually says *admodum pauci* rather than *pauci admodum*. —— **vestra aetate**: = *eis qui sunt vestra aetate*. Cf. n. on 26 *senectus*. —— **sermonis ... sustulit**: notice the indicatives *auxit*, *sustulit*, the relative clauses being attributive, though they might fairly have been expected here to be causal. G. 627; H. 517, 2. In this passage Cic. imitates Plato, Rep. 328 D. —— **bellum indicere**: common in the metaphorical sense; *e. g.* De Or. 2, 155 *miror cur philosophiae prope bellum indixeris*; Hor. Sat. 1, 5, 7 *ventri indico bellum*. —— **cuius est** etc.: *i. e.* nature sanctions a certain amount of pleasure. This is the Peripatetic notion of the *mean*, to which Cicero often gives expression, as below, 77; also in Acad. 1, 39; 2, 139; and in De Off.; so Hor. Sat. 1, 1, 106 *sunt certi denique fines quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum*; cf. Od. 2, 10. —— **non intellego ne**: for the negatives cf. nn. on 24, 27.

P. 20. — magisteria: generally explained as referring to the practice of appointing at each dinner a 'master of the feast', *arbiter bibendi* or *συμποσιάρχης*. This explanation is not quite correct

Mommsen shows in his work '*de collegiis*' that each one of the *collegia* or *sodalicia* annually appointed a *magister cenarum* whose duty it was to attend to the club-dinners during his year of office and no doubt to preside at them. That some office is meant more important than that of the *arbiter bibendi* appointed for a particular feast is shown by the words *a maioribus instituta*. It is scarcely likely that Cicero was ignorant of the Greek origin of the custom of appointing an *arbiter bibendi*. —— **et is sermo** etc.: 'and the kind of talk in which following the fashion of our fathers we engage, beginning at the upper table, as the cup goes round'. The cup circulated from left to right, not, as with us, from right to left. The guests at a Roman dinner reclined on three couches, placed at three tables; two of the couches (*lecti*) were parallel, and the third was at right angles to the other two. The *lectus* at which the cup began to circulate was *summus*, the next *medius*, the last *imus*. For *a summo* cf. *da* (*sc. bibere*) *a summo* in Plaut. Asin. 5, 2, 41. See Becker's Gallus, p. 471 *et seq.* —— **sicut... est**: 'as we find'; so Off. 1, 32 *ut in fabulis est*, and often. —— **in Symposio**: 2, 26. —— **minuta**: see n. on 52. —— **rorantia**: here with an active sense, 'besprinkling', representing ἐπιψεκάζειν in Xenophon; often however not different in sense from '*roscida*'. —— **refrigeratio... hibernus**: cf. closely 57 *ubi et seq.* Note the changes of expression in passing from *refrigeratio* to *sol* (*apricatio* would have more exactly corresponded with *refrigeratio*) and from *aestate* to *hibernus* (for *hieme*). —— **in Sabinis**: 'when with the Sabines', who were celebrated for their simplicity of life. Cato had an estate in the Sabine district. —— **convivium vicinorum compleo**: 'I make up (*i. e.* to the proper number) a company of my neighbors'. —— **quod... producimus**: 'and we continue our companionship to as late an hour as we can, with changing talk'. The phrases *multa nocte* or *de nocte* 'late in the night', *multo die* 'late in the day', are common; cf. also Att. 13, 9, 1 *multus sermo ad multum diem*; Rep. 6, 10 *sermonem in multam noctem produximus*.

47. **at**: so in 21, where see n. —— **quasi titillatio**: the *quasi*, as often in Cicero's writings, marks a translation from the Greek. Here the Epicurean word γαργαλισμός is referred to; it is often in Cic. represented by *titillatio*; cf. N. D. 1, 113; Fin. 1, 39; Tusc. 3, 47. —— **bene**: *sc. dixit.* —— **affecto aetate**: 'wrought on by age'. Cf. De Or. 1, 200 *in eius infirmissima valetudine affectaque iam aetate.* —— **utereturne** etc.: 'whether he still took pleasure in love'; *uti* = *frui*

Cf. Ovid, Met. 4, 259 *dementer amoribus uti* with Cic. Tusc. 4, 68 *venereis voluptatibus frui.* —— **di meliora:** *sc. duint;* this archaic form usually occurs when the phrase is given in full. The story of Sophocles is taken by Cicero from Plato (Rep. 329 B) who has εὐφήμει. —— **istinc** etc.: cf. the passage in Plato, Rep. 1, 329 C. For *istinc* used otherwise than of place cf. *unde* in 12 with n. —— **agresti:** 'boorish'; *rusticus* denotes simply an ordinary countryman. —— **quamquam ... ergo:** these words may be scanned as a hexameter line, but the pause before *ergo* would prevent them from being taken as a verse. —— **hoc non desiderare:** 'this absence of regret'; the words form the subject of *est.* So *hoc non dolere* in Fin. 2, 18. For the pronoun in agreement with the infinitive treated as noun cf. Persius 1, 9 *istud vivere;* 1, 122 *hoc ridere meum.* H. 538, 3.

48. si: 'even if', 'granting that'. —— **bona aetas:** 'the good time of life', *i. e.* youth. Tischer qu. Varro de Re Rustica 2, 6, 2 *mares feminaeque bona aetate* = 'young'. For *bona aetas* = *homines bona aetate* cf. n. on 26 *senectus.* —— **ut diximus:** not expressly, but the opinion is implied in 44, 45. —— **Turpione Ambivio:** L. Ambivius Turpio was the most famous actor of Cato's time, and appeared especially in Terence's plays. In old Latin commonly, occasionally in the Latin of the best period, and often in Tacitus, the *cognomen* is placed before the *nomen* when the *praenomen* is not mentioned. Cf. Att. 11, 12, 1 *Balbo Cornelio.* The usage is more common in Cicero's writings than in those of his contemporaries. —— **prima cavea:** 'the lower tier'. The later Roman theatres consisted of semicircular or elliptic galleries, with rising tiers of seats; the level space partially enclosed by the curve was the *orchestra,* which was bounded by the stage in front. There can be little doubt that Cicero is guilty of an anachronism here; his words do not suit the circumstances of Cato's time. Till nearly the end of the Republic the theatres were rude structures of wood, put up temporarily; it is even doubtful whether they contained seats for the audience. Cato himself frustrated an attempt to establish a permanent theatre. —— **propter:** 'close by'. The adverbial use of *propter* (rarely, if ever, met with outside of Cicero) is denied by some scholars, but is well attested by MSS. here and elsewhere. —— **tantum ... est:** these words qualify *delectatur.*

49. illa: put for *illud,* as in Greek ταῦτα and τάδε are often put for τοῦτο and τόδε. The words from *animum* to the end of the sen

tence are explanatory of *illa.* —— **quanti**: 'how valuable!' but the word may have exactly the opposite meaning if the context require it; thus in N. D. 1, 55 and Rep. 6, 25 the sense is 'how worthless!' —— **stipendiis**: 'campaigns'. The four words from *libidinis* to *inimicitiarum* are to be taken in pairs, while *cupiditatum* sums them up and is in apposition to all. —— **secum esse**: cf. Tusc. 1, 75; Pers. 4, 52 *tecum habita.* —— **si ... aliquod**: the sense is scarcely different from that of *si ... quod;* the distinction is as slight as that in English between 'if' followed by 'some', and 'if' followed by 'any'. Cf. n. on Lael. 24 *si quando aliquid.* —— **pabulum**: for the metaphorical sense rendered less harsh by *tamquam*, cf. Acad. 2, 127; Tusc. 5, 66 *pastus animorum.* —— **studi**: an explanatory genitive dependent on *pabulum.* —— **otiosa senectute**: 'leisured age'; *otium* in the Latin of Cicero does not imply idleness, but freedom from public business and opportunity for the indulgence of literary and scientific tastes. —— **videbamus**: for the tense cf. Lael. 37 *Gracchum rem publicam vexantem ab amicis derelictum videbamus, i. e.* 'we saw over a considerable period'. See also 50, 79. —— **in studio** etc.: 'busied with the task of almost measuring bit by bit (*di-metiendi*) the heavens and the earth'. For the sense cf. Hor. Od. 1, 28 (of Archytas). —— **Gallum**: consul in 157 B. C., famous as an astronomer and as the first Roman who predicted an eclipse before the battle of Pydna. See Liv. 44, 37.

P. 21. — **describere**: technically used of the drawing of mathematical figures. *Ingredior* often has an infinitive dependent on it even in the best Latin; *e. g.* Cic Top. 1 *nos maiores res scribere ingressos.*

50. **acutis**: requiring keenness of intellect. —— **Naevius**: see n. on 20. —— **Truculento ... Pseudolo**: these plays of Plautus (lived from 254 to 184 B. C.) we still possess. The Truculentus is so named from one of the characters, a slave of savage disposition who is wheedled; the Pseudolus from a cheating slave. The latter name is commonly supposed to be a transcription from a Greek word ψεύδυλος, which however nowhere occurs; and as the change from Greek υ to Latin *o* is not found before *l*, Corssen assumes ψεύδ-αλος as the original word. The form *Pseudulus* of the name is probably later than *Pseudolus.* —— **Livium**: Livius Andronicus, the founder of Latin literature (lived from about 285 to 204 B. C.), who translated the Odyssey, also many Greek tragedies. Livius was a Greek captured by Livius Salinator at Tarentum in 275 B. C.; for a time he was the

slave of Livius, and, according to custom, took his name when set free. For an account of his writings see Cruttwell's Hist. of Roman Literature, Ch. 3; Sellar, Roman Poets of the Rep., Ch. 3. —— **docuisset**: 'had brought on to the stage'. *Docere* (like διδάσκειν in Greek, which has the same use) meant originally to instruct the performers in the play. —— **Centone Tuditanoque consulibus**: *i. e.* in 240 B. C. The use of *que* here is noticeable; when a date is given by reference to the consuls of the year it is usual to insert *et* (not *que* or *atque*, which rarely occur) between the two names, if only the *cognomina* (as here) be given. If the full names be given, then they are put side by side without *et*. Cf. n. on 10. —— **Crassi**: see n. on 27. —— **pontifici et civilis iuris**: the *ius pontificium* regarded mainly the proper modes of conducting religious ceremonial. *Ius civile*, which is often used to denote the whole body of Roman Law, here includes only the secular portion of that Law. Cf. n. on 38. —— **huius P. Scipionis**: 'the present P. Scipio'. So in 14 *hi consules* 'the present consuls'; Rep. 1, 14 *Africanus hic, Pauli filius*, and often. The P. Scipio who is meant here is not Africanus, but Nasica Corculum. —— **flagrantis**: 'all aglow'; so *ardere studio* in Acad. 2, 65. —— **senes**: = *cum senes essent*, so *senem* below. —— **suadae medullam**: 'the essence (lit. marrow) of persuasiveness'. The lines of Ennius are preserved by Cicero, Brut. 58. *Suada* is a translation of πειθώ, which the Greek rhetoricians declared to be the end and aim of oratory. This Cethegus was consul in 204 and in 203 defeated Mago in the N. of Italy. —— **exerceri**: here reflexive in meaning. A. 111, n. 1; G. 209; H. 465. —— **videbamus**: see n. on 49. —— **comparandae**: for the idea of *possibility* which the gerundive sometimes has (but only in negative sentences or interrogative sentences implying a negative answer, and in conditional clauses) see Madvig, 420, Obs.; Roby, 1403. —— **haec quidem**: a short summary of the preceding arguments, preparatory to a transition to a new subject, introduced by *venio nunc ad*. The succession of two clauses both containing *quidem* seems awkward, but occurs in Fin. 5, 80 and elsewhere. —— **honestum sit**: 'does him honor'. —— **ut ante dixi**: in 26, where see the notes. —— **potest esse**: Meissner (n. on 27) says that Cicero's rule is to say *potest esse*, *debet esse* and the like, not *esse potest* and the like. It is true that *esse* in such cases is very seldom separated from the word on which it depends, but *esse potest* is just as common as *potest esse*; the difference to the sense is one of emphasis only, the *esse* having more emphasis thrown on it in the latter case.

51. mihi ... videntur: see Introd. —— **habent rationem cum**: 'they have their reckonings with', 'their dealings with'; a phrase of book-keeping. —— **imperium**: so Verg. Georg. 1, 99 *exercetque frequens tellurem atque i m p e r a t agris*; ib. 2, 369 *dura exerce imperia et ramos compesce fluentes*; Tac. Germ. 26 *sola terrae seges imperatur*. —— **sed alias ... faenore**: put for *sed semper cum faenore, alias minore, plerumque maiore*. —— **vis ac natura**: 'powers and con stitution'. These two words are very often used by Cic. together, as in Fin. 1, 50 *vis ac natura rerum*. —— **gremio**: so Lucret. 1, 250 *pereunt imbres ubi eos pater aether In gremium matris terrai praecipitavit*, imitated by Verg. Georg. 2, 325. —— **mollito ac subacto**: *i. e.* by the plough. *Subigere*, 'subdue', is a technical word of agriculture; so Verg. Georg. 2, 50 *scrobibus subactis*; see also below, 59.

P. 22. — **occaecatum**: 'hidden'. *Caecus* has the sense of 'unseen' as well as that of 'unseeing' or 'blind'. —— **occatio**: Cicero's derivation, as well as Varro's (De Re Rust. 1, 31, 1) from *occidere*, because the earth is cut up, is unsound. *Occa* is *rastrum*, probably from its *sharp* points (root *ak-*); *occatio* therefore is 'harrowing'. —— **vapore**: 'heat'. This word has not in the best Latin the meaning of our 'vapor'. —— **compressu**: a word found only here in Cicero's writings and elsewhere in Latin only in the ablative case, like so many other nouns whose stem ends in *-u*. —— **diffundit et elicit**: 'expands and lures forth'. —— **herbescentem**: this word occurs nowhere else in Latin. —— **nixa**: A. 254, *b*; G. 403, Rem. 3; H. 425, 1, 1), n. —— **fibris stirpium**: so Tusc. 3, 13 *radicum fibras*. —— **geniculato**: 'knotted'. The verb *geniculo*, from *genu*, scarcely occurs excepting in the passive participle, which is always used, as here, of plants. So Plin. Nat. Hist. 16, 158 *geniculata cetera gracilitas nodisque distincta*, speaking of the *harundo*. —— **spici**: besides *spica*, the forms *spicum* and *spicus* are occasionally found. *Spici* here is explanatory of *frugem*. —— **vallo**: for the metaphor compare N. D. 2, 143 *munitae sunt palpebrae tamquam vallo pilorum*; Lucr. 2, 537.

52. quid ego ... commemorem: this and similar formulae for passing to a new subject are common; cf. 53 *quid ego ... proferam* etc.; often *nam* precedes the *quid*, as in Lael. 104. The *ego* has a slight emphasis. Cato implies that his own devotion to grape-culture was so well known as not to need description. —— **ortus satus incrementa**: 'origin, cultivation, and growth'. For the omission of the copula see n. on 53. —— **ut**: final, and slightly elliptic ('I say this that etc.'); so

in 6 (where see n.), 24, 56, 59, 82. —— **requietem**: the best MSS. of Cic. sometimes give the other form *requiem*, as in Arch. 13. —— **vim ipsam**: 'the inherent energy'. —— **omnium ... terra**: a common periphrasis for 'all plants'; cf. *e. g.* N. D. 2, 120. The Latin has no one word to comprehend all vegetable products. —— **quae ... procreet**: 'able to generate'. —— **tantulo**: strictly elliptic, implying *quantulum re vera est.* In such uses *tantus* and *tantulus* differ slightly from *magnus* and *parvus;* they are more emphatic. —— **acini vinaceo**: 'a grape-stone'. —— **minutissimis**: used here for *minimis.* Strictly speaking *minutus* ought to be used of things which are fragments of larger things, *minutus* being really the participle passive of *minuo.* In a well-known passage (Orat. 94) Cic. himself calls attention to the theoretical incorrectness of the use, which, however, is found throughout Latin literature. Cf. 46 *pocula minuta;* also below, 85 *minuti philosophi.* —— **malleoli**: vine-cuttings; so called because a portion of the parent stem was cut away with the new shoot, leaving the cutting in the shape of a mallet. —— **plantae**: 'suckers', shoots springing out of the trunk. —— **sarmenta**: 'scions', shoots cut from branches not from the trunk —— **viviradices**: 'quicksets', new plants formed by dividing the roots of the mother plant. —— **propagines**: 'layers', new plants formed by rooting a shoot in the earth without severing it from the parent plant; Verg. Georg. 2, 26. —— **eadem**: n. on 4 *eandem.* —— **claviculis**: cf. N. D. 2, 120 *vites sic claviculis.* —— **ars agricolarum**: *agricolae arte freti*, a strong instance of the abstract put for the concrete.

53. eis: *sc. sarmentis*, those which have not been pruned away by the knife. —— **exsistit**: 'springs up'. *Exsistere* in good Latin never has the meaning of our 'exist', *i. e.* '*to be in* existence', but always means '*to come into* existence'. —— **articulos**: 'joints'; cf. 51 *culmo geniculato.* The word *tamquam* softens the metaphor in *articuli*, which would properly be used only of the joints in the limbs of animals. —— **gemma**: Cicero took the meaning 'gem' or 'jewel' to be the primary sense of *gemma* and considered that the application to a bud was metaphorical. See the well-known passages, Orat. 81 and De Or. 3, 155. —— **vestita pampinis**: 'arrayed in the young foliage'. —— **fructu ... aspectu**: ablatives of respect, like *gustatu* above. —— **capitum iugatio**: 'the linking together of their tops'; *i. e.* the uniting of the tops of the stakes by cross-stakes. So the editors; but Conington on Verg. Georg. 2, 355 seems to take *capita* of the top-foliage

of the vines, an interpetation which is quite possible. Those editors are certainly wrong who remove the comma after *iugatio* and place it after *religatio*, as though *et* were omitted between the two words. In enumerations of more than two things Cic. either omits the copula altogether or inserts it before each word after the first; but in enumerating two things *et* cannot be omitted, except where there are several *sets* or *pairs* of things. Cf. n. on 13. —— **religatio**: *i. e.* the tying down of shoots so as to cause them to take root in the earth. *Religatio* seems to occur only here.

P. 28. — aliorum immissio: 'the granting of free scope to others'. *Immissio* scarcely occurs elsewhere in good Latin. The metaphor is from letting loose the reins in driving; cf. Verg. Georg. 2, 364; Plin. N. H. 16, 141 *cupressus immittitur in perticas asseresque amputatione ramorum;* Varro, R. R. 1, 31, 1 *vitis immittitur ad uvas pariendas.* Some, referring to Columella de Arbor. c. 7, take the word to mean the setting in the earth of a shoot in order that it may take root before being separated from the parent stem. The context, however, is against this interpretation. —— **irrigationes** etc.: the plurals denote more prominently than singulars would the repetition of the actions expressed by these words. —— **repastinationes**: 'repeated hoeings'. The *pastinum* was a kind of pitchfork, used for turning over the ground round about the vines, particularly when the young plants were being put in. —— **multo terra fecundior**: see n. on 3 *parum ... auctoritatis.*

54. in eo libro: see Introd. —— **doctus**: often used of poets, not only by Cicero but by most other Latin writers, more particularly by the elegiac poets; see also n. on 13. —— **Hesiodus**: the oldest Greek poet after Homer. The poem referred to here is the Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, which we still possess, along with the Theogony and the Shield of Heracles. —— **cum**: concessive. —— **saeculis**: 'generations', as in 24. —— **fuit**: = *vixit.* —— **Laerten**: the passage referred to is no doubt the touching scene in Odyss. 24, 226, where Odysseus, after killing the suitors, finds his unhappy old father toiling in his garden. In that passage nothing is said of *manuring.* —— **lenientem**: see n. on 11 *dividenti.* —— **colentem** etc.: the introduction of another participle to explain *lenientem* is far from elegant. *Cultione agri* or something of the kind might have been expected. The collocation of *appetentem* with *occupatum* in 56 is no less awkward. —— **facit**: n. on 3 *facimus.* —— **res rusticae laetae sunt**: 'the farmer's life is gladdened'. —— **apium**: this form is oftener found in the best MSS.,

of prose writers at least, than the other form *apum*, which probably was not used by Cic. —— **omnium**: = *omnis generis*. —— **consitiones ... insitiones**: 'planting ... grafting'. On the varieties of grafting and the skill required for it see Verg. Georg. 2, 73 *seq*.

55. possum: see n. on 24. —— **ignoscetis**: 'you will excuse (me)'. —— **provectus sum**: 'I have been carried away'. Cicero often uses *prolabi* in the same sense. —— **in hac ... consumpsit**: Cic. probably never, as later writers did, used *consumere* with a simple ablative. —— **Curius**: see n. on 15. —— **a me**: = *a mea villa*; cf. n. on 3 *apud quem*. —— **admirari satis non possum**: a favorite form of expression with Cicero; *e. g.* De Or. 1, 165. —— **disciplinam**: 'morals'; literally 'teaching'.

56. Curio: Plutarch, Cat. 2, says the ambassadors found him cooking a dinner of herbs, and that Curius sent them away with the remark that a man who dined in that way had no need of gold. The present was not brought as a bribe, since the incident took place after the war. Curius had become *patronus* of the Samnites, and they were bringing the customary offering of *clientes*; see Rep. 3, 40. —— **ne**: here = *num*, a rare use; so Fin. 3, 44; Acad. 2, 116. —— **sed venio ad**: so in 51 *venio nunc ad*. *Redeo ad* (see n. on 32) might have been expected here. —— **in agris erant**: 'lived on their farms'. For *erant* cf. n. on 21 *sunt*. —— **id est senes**: cf. 19 n. on *senatum*. —— **si quidem**: often written as one word *siquidem* = εἴπερ. —— **aranti**: emphatic position. —— **Cincinnato**: L. Quinctius Cincinnatus is said to have been dictator twice; in 458 B. C., when he saved the Roman army, which was surrounded by the Aequians, and ended the war in sixteen days from his appointment; in 439, when Maelius was killed and Cincinnatus was eighty years old. In our passage Cic. seems to assume only one dictatorship. The story of Cincinnatus at the plough is told in Livy 3, 26. —— **factum**: the technical term was *dicere dictatorem*, since he was nominated by the consul on the advice of the senate. —— **dictatoris**: in apposition with *cuius*.

P. 24. — **Maelium**: a rich plebeian, who distributed corn in time of famine and was charged with courting the people in order to make himself a king. Ahala summoned him before the dictator, and because he did not immediately obey, killed him with his own hand. For this, Ahala became one of the heroes of his nation. See Liv. 4, 13. Cicero often mentions him with praise. Cf in Catil. I. 3; p.

Sestio 143, etc. —— **appetentem**: = *quia appetebat*; so *occupatum* = *cum occupasset*. —— **viatores**: literally 'travellers', so 'messengers'. They formed a regularly organized corporation at Rome and were in attendance on many of the magistrates. Those officers who had the *fasces* had also lictors, who, however, generally remained in close attendance and were not despatched on distant errands. The statement of Cic. in the text is repeated almost *verbatim* by Plin. N. H. 18, 21. —— **miserabilis**: 'to be pitied'. The word does not quite answer to our 'miserable'. —— **agri cultione**: a rare expression, found elsewhere only in Verr. 3, 226; then not again till the 'Fathers'. —— **haud scio an nulla**: since *haud scio an* is affirmative in Cicero, not negative as in some later writers, *nulla* must be read here, not *ulla*. Cf. 73 *haud scio an melius Ennius*, 'probably Ennius speaks better'; also 74 *incertum an hoc ipso die*, 'possibly to-day'. Roby, 2256; G. 459, Rem.; H. 529, II. 3, 2), n. 2. —— **quam dixi**: = *de qua dixi*, as in 53. —— **saturitate**: the word is said to occur nowhere else in Latin. —— **quidam**: *i. e.* the authors of the *tertia vituperatio senectutis*, whom Cato refutes in 39, 59. —— **porco ... gallina**: these words are used collectively, as *rosa* often is; so Fin. 2, 65 *potantem in rosa Thorium*. —— **iam**: 'further'. —— **succidiam alteram**: 'a second meat-supply'. The word seems to be connected with *caedo*, and probably originally meant 'slaughter'. In a fragment of Cato preserved by Gellius 13, 24, 12 (in some editions 13, 25, 12) we find *succidias humanas facere*. Varro, R. R. 2, 14 has the word in the sense of 'meat'. —— **conditiora facit**: 'adds a zest to'; cf. *condita* in 10. —— **supervacaneis operis**: 'by the use of spare time'; literally 'by means of toils that are left over', *i. e.* after completing the ordinary work of the farm.

57. ordinibus: cf. 59 *ordines*. —— **brevi praecidam**: 'I will cut the matter short'. For *praecidam* (*sc. rem* or *sermonem*) cf. Acad. 2, 133 *praecide* (*sc. sermonem*); for *brevi* (= 'in brief', ἐν βραχεῖ) cf. De Or. 1, 34 *ne plura consecter comprehendam brevi*. —— **usu uberius**: cf. 53 *fructu laetius ... aspectu pulchrius*. —— **ad quem ... retardat**: some have thought that there is zeugma here, supposing *ad* to be suited only to *invitat*, not to *retardat*. That this is not the case is clear from such passages as Caes. B. G. 7, 26, 2 *palus Romanos ad insequendum tardabat* (= *tardos faciebat*); Cic. Sull. 49 *nullius amicitia ad pericula propulsanda impedimur*. On *fruendum* see Madvig, 421, *a*, Obs. 2 and 265, Obs. 2; G. 428, Rem. 3, exc.; H. 544, 2, n. 5. —— **in-**

vitat atque allectat: one of the 'doublets' of which Cicero is so fond; cf. Lael. 99 *allectant et invitant.*

58. sibi habeant: *sc. iuvenes;* contemptuous, as in Lael. 18 *sibi habeant sapientiae nomen;* Sull. 26 *sibi haberent honores, sibi imperia* etc.; cf. the formula of Roman divorce, *tu tuas res tibi habeto.* —— **hastas**: in practising, the point was covered by a button, *pila;* cf. Liv. 26, 51 *praepilatis missilibus iaculati sunt.* —— **clavam**: cf. Vegetius de Re Mil. 1, 11 *clavas ligneas pro gladiis tironibus dabant, eoque modo exercebantur ad palos;* Iuv. 6, 246. The *palus* is called *stipes* by Martial 7, 32. —— **pilam ... venationes ... cursus**: all national amusements, well known to readers of Horace; see Becker's Gallus. *Venationes*, em. for *natationes.* —— **talos ... tesseras**: *tali*, 'knucklebones', were oblong, and rounded at the two ends; the sides were numbered 1 and 6 (1 being opposite to 6), 3 and 4. Four *tali* were used at a time and they, like the *tesserae*, were generally thrown from a box, *fritillus.* The *tesserae*, of which three were used at a time, were cubes, with the sides numbered from 1 to 6 in such a way that the numbers on two opposite sides taken together always made 7. A separate name was used by dicers for almost every possible throw of the *tesserae* and *tali.* The two best known are *canis*, when all the dice turned up with the same number uppermost; and *venus*, when they all showed different numbers. The word *alea* was general and applicable to games of chance of every kind. These games, which were forbidden by many ineffectual laws ('*vetita legibus alea*') were held to be permissible for old men; see Mayor on Iuv. 14, 4. —— **id ipsum**: sc. *faciunt;* the omission of *facere* is not uncommon. Roby, 1441; H. 368, 3, n. 1. —— **ut**: em. for ordinary readings *unum* and *utrum.*

59. legite: 'continue to read'. Cf. De Or. 1, 34 *pergite, ut facitis, adulescentes.* In Tusc. 2, 62 it is stated that Africanus was a great reader of Xenophon.

P. 25. — libro qui est de: so in Fat. 1 *libris qui sunt de natura deorum*, and similarly elsewhere; but the periphrasis is often avoided, as in Off. 2, 16 *Dicaearchi liber de interitu hominum.* —— **qui**: *quique* might have been expected, but the words above, *qui ... familiari*, are regarded as parenthetical —— **Oeconomicus**: Cicero translates from this work c. 4, 20–25. —— **inscribitur**: see n. on 13. —— **regale**: 'worthy of a king'; different from *regium*, which would mean 'actually characteristic of kings'. Yet Cic. sometimes interchanges the words; thus *regalis potestas* in Har. Resp. 54 is the same as *regia*

potestas in Phil. 1, 3. —— **loquitur cum Critobulo** etc.: 'discourses with Critobulus of how Cyrus etc.'. The construction of *loqui* with acc. and inf. belongs to colloquial Latin, as does the construction *loqui aliquam rem* for *de aliqua re;* cf. Att. 1, 5, 6 *mecum Tadius locutus est te ita scripsisse;* ib. 9, 13, 1 *mera scelera loquuntur.* —— **Cyrum minorem**: Cyrus the younger (cf. 79 *Cyrus maior*), well known from Xenophon's *Anabasis.* As Cyrus never arrived at the throne (having been killed at Cunaxa in 401 in his attempt to oust his brother the king with the help of the 10,000 Greeks) *regem* is used in the sense of 'prince', as in Verr. 4, 61 and elsewhere; *βασιλεύς* is used in exactly the same way in a passage of the Oeconomicus which comes a little before the one Cic. is here rendering (4, 16). —— **Lysander**: the great commander who in 405 B.C. won the battle of Aegospotamos against the Athenians. —— **Sardis**: acc. pl.; *-is* represents Gk. *-εις.* —— **consaeptum agrum**: 'park'; the phrase is a translation of Xenophon's *παράδεισον*; this will account for the omission of *et* before *diligenter consitum.* —— **diligenter**: 'carefully'. —— **proceritates**: the plural probably indicates the height of each *kind* of tree. —— **quincuncem**: thus:  This was the order of battle in the Roman army during a great part of its history. The cause for this application of the term is rather difficult to see; it originally meant five-twelfths of an *uncia;* possibly it was thus applied because by drawing lines between the points the letter V (five) might be produced. As regards its application to trees, see Verg. Georg. 2, 277–284. —— **puram**: so the farmers talk of 'cleaning' the land. —— **dimensa**: notice the passive use of this participle, originally deponent; cf. n. on 4 *adeptam.* —— **discripta**: 'arranged'; so *discriptio* a little farther on. Cf. n. on 5 *descriptae.* —— **ornatum**: 'costume', used by Latin writers of any dress a little unfamiliar. So in Plaut. Miles 4, 4, 41 (1177 R) *ornatus nauclericus.*

60. impedit: *sc. nos;* with this construction the pronoun is always omitted. —— **Valerium**: when a young man, in 349 B.C., he engaged in combat with a Gaul, in sight of the Roman and Gallic armies, and came off victor by the aid of a raven, *corvus;* hence the name Corvinus (Liv. 7, 26). His first consulship was in 348, his last in 299; Cic. has miscalculated. Valerius was also twice dictator and is said to have held altogether 21 terms of curule offices. —— **perduxisse**: *sc. agri colendi studia.* Cf. Lael. 33 *quod—perduxissent.* —— **esset**:

cf. n. on 21. —— **aetate**: here = the vigorous period of life; cf. *bona aetas* in 48. —— **cursus honorum**: 'official career'. —— **huius**: *ille* and *hic* are not often found in the same sentence referring to the same person. *Eius* would have been more regular here. —— **media**: cf. n. on 33 *constantis aetatis*.

P. 26. — **apex**: 'the crown', 'the highest glory'. The word meant originally 'knot', being connected with *ap-tus ap-isci ap-ere* and other words containing the idea of binding fast or grasping. It was properly applied to the olive-twig bound round with wool, which was stuck in the cap worn by the *flamines* and *salii*. It is sometimes employed to translate διάδημα (a word originally of similar meaning), the royal *insigne*, as in Horace, Odes, 3, 21, 20 *regum apices*, with which cf. Odes, 1, 34, 14. The word is scarcely found elsewhere in a metaphorical sense. Our passage is imitated by Ammianus Marcellinus (a great imitator of Cicero) 27, 7, 2 *Rufinus velut apicem honoratae senectutis praetendens*.

61. Metello: see n. on 30. —— **A. Atilio Calatino**: consul in 258 B.C. and again in 254; dictator in 249, censor in 247. Cicero classed him with old heroes like Curius and Fabricius (Planc. 60). His tomb was on the *via Appia* outside the *Porta Capena*, close to the well-known tomb of the Scipios (see Tusc. 1, 13). —— **in quem ... elogium**: 'in whose honor there is the inscription'. With *in quem* = *de quo* cf. the occasional occurrence of κατά τινος in the sense of περί τινος. —— **elogium**: Greek ἐλεγεῖον (so Curtius): for the representation of ε by *o* cf. *oliva* with ἐλαία, and Plautus' *lopadas* for λέπαδας. But cf. Roby, 929, *d*. —— **hunc etc.**: the inscription (which is quoted by Cicero also in Fin. 2, 116) is strikingly like that on the tomb of *Scipio Barbatus* which has actually come down to us, and thus begins (Ritschl's recension):

honc oino ploirime cosentiont Romai
duonoro optumo fuise viro viroro

i. e. hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae bonorum optimum fuisse virum virorum. Ritschl thus completes the *elogium* of Atilus, by comparison with others still preserved: *dictator* (ending the second line), *Consul, censor, aedilis hic fuit apud vos*. But Cicero's words (*notum ... sepulcro*) seem to imply a longer inscription than one of three lines; the analogy of the Scipionic inscriptions points the same way. The older monumental inscriptions of Rome were written in

the Saturnian metre, which depended partly on accent. The normal line ran thus:

⏑ –́ ⏑ – ⏑ –́ ⏓ | –́ ⏑ – ⏑ –́ ⏓

but there were many deviations. —— **unum**: intensifies *primarium*, 'the very first'; cf. the common use of *unus* with a superlative adjective, for which see n. on Lael. 1 *unum* etc. —— **esset consentiens**: cf. n. on 26 *agens aliquid*. —— **nuper**: like *modo* (see n. on 27) *nuper* is loosely used, and has its meaning defined by the context. Cf. n. on Lael. 13. In Plin. Ep. 1, 2, 2 the orator Calvus, a younger contemporary of Cicero, is said to have existed *nuper*. —— **Lepidum**: *pontifex maximus* from 180 B.C., consul in 187 and in 175; censor in 179; he is said to have been chosen *princeps senatus* by six sets of censors in succession. He died in 152. —— **Paulo**: see 29 *L. Aemilius* with n. —— **Maximo**: see 10 *et seq.* —— **sententia**: *i. e.* a set speech in the senate. Cf. De Or. 1, 38 *is non accurata orationis copia, sed nutu atque verbo libertinos in urbanas tribus transtulit* —— **honorata**: see n. on 22.

62. in omni oratione: 'everywhere throughout my speech'. *Tota oratione* would have meant 'my speech viewed as a whole'. —— **defenderet**: the tense is accommodated to that of *dixi*, according to Latin custom; see n. on 42 *efficeret*. —— **cani**: *sc. capilli;* the same ellipsis is found in Ovid. Cf. *calda* (*sc. aqua*), *laurea* (*sc. corona*), *natalis* (*sc. dies*), *Latinae* (*sc. feriae*), etc.; also *cereo* in 44. —— **fructus ... extremos**: 'receives the reward of influence at the last'.

63 appeti: 'to be courted'; *decedi:* 'to take precedence', literally 'that there should be a yielding of the way'. —— **assurgi**: 'the honor shown by rising'. Cf. Iuv. 13, 54 *credebant grande nefas et morte piandum si iuvenis vetulo non assurrexerat*, where see Mayor's note. —— **deduci reduci**: 'the escort from home and the attendance homeward'. The difference between these two words, which has often been misunderstood, is shown by Val. Max. 2, 1, 9 *iuvenes senatus die utique aliquem ex patribus conscriptis ad curiam deducebant, affixique valvis exspectabant donec reducendi etiam officio fungerentur.* —— **consuli**: probably refers to private legal consultations as well as to the deliberations of the senate. —— **ut quaeque optime**: Cic. often uses *ut quisque* with superlatives, *ita* following; see n. on Lael. 19. Translate *ut ... ita* 'in proportion as ... so'. —— **morata**: from *mos*. —— **modo**: in 59. —— **memoriae proditum est**: in Verr. 5, 36 Cic. uses *ad memoriam* instead of the dative. The best writers have

memoriae prodere and *prodi*, '*for the recollection of* posterity', *memoria prodi*, 'to be handed down *by* tradition'; but not *memoria prodere.* —— **ludis**: *sc. Panathenaicis*, abl. of time. The Panathenaea was the greatest of the Athenian festivals and was celebrated in honor of Athene, patron goddess of the city, once in four years. The story that follows is told in almost the same words by Val. Max. 4, 5, ext. 2.

P. 27. — **qui**: at this point the *oratio obliqua* is broken off, but it is resumed in the next sentence, *dixisse* being dependent on *proditum est.* —— **legati cum essent**: 'being ambassadors'. —— **illi**: 'in his honor'. —— **sessum recepisse**: Val. Max. uses the same phrase; cf. Fam. 10, 32, 2 *sessum deducere;* N. D. 3, 74 *sessum ire.*

64. plausus multiplex: cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 747 *ingeminant plausu.* Cic. generally says *plausus maximus.* —— **facere nolle**: cf. the well-known saying of Demosthenes, Olynth. 3, § 3 *πέπεισμαι γὰρ τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐκπεφευγέναι τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν, ἢ τῷ μὴ συνιέναι.* —— **collegio**: the college or board of augurs to which Cato belonged. In his time there were nine members; later the number was increased. —— **antecedit**: *sc. alios.* —— **sententiae principatum**: 'precedence in debate'. Meissner quotes Verr. 4, 142 *ut quisque aetate et honore antecedit, ita primus solet sua sponte dicere itaque a ceteris ei conceditur.* —— **honore**: *i. e.* as regards office, past or present. —— **qui ... sunt**: actual praetors or consuls. —— **comparandae**: n. on 50. —— **fabulam aetatis**: cf. 5, 70, 85. The comparison of life to a play, and mankind to the players, is common in all literature; *e. g.* 'All the world 's a stage, etc.'. When Augustus was on his deathbed he asked his friends *ecquid eis videretur* *m i m u m v i t a e* *commode transegisse* (Suet. Aug. 99); cf. Gay's epitaph, 'Life 's a jest, etc.'. —— **corruisse**: *i. e.* through fatigue; cf. *defetigationem* in 85.

65. at: see n. on 21. —— **morum**: cf. 7 *in moribus est culpa, non in aetate.* —— **ea vitia**: *i. e. ea alia vitia.* —— **habent** etc.: cf. Thucyd. 3, 44 *ἔχοντές τι συγγνώμης* —— **non ... videatur**: 'not well grounded indeed, but such as it may seem possible to allow'. *Ille* is often used with *quidem* in making concessions where the English idiom requires no pronoun. Roby, 2259; Madvig, 489, *b*; Kennedy, 65, n. 2; A. 151, *e*; G. 292, Rem. 4; H. 450, 4, n. 2. —— **contemni ... despici**: see n. on 43 *spreta et contempta.* —— **moribus bonis et artibus**: for the order of the words cf. n. on 1 *animi tui.* —— **in vita**: 'in everyday life'

—— **Adelphis**: *Adelphi* = ἀδελφοί, The Brothers; this play of Terence is still extant. —— **diritas**: 'harshness of temper'; but Suet. Tib. 21 has *diritas morum*, and Varro *scena quem senem Latina vidit dirissimum*. Both *dirus* and *diritas* are rare in Cicero; the former word does not once occur in the whole range of the speeches, the latter scarcely excepting here and in Vat. 9; in Tusc. 3, 29 Cic. uses it in translating from Euripides.

P. 28.—66. sollicitam habere: 'to keep in trouble'. *Sollicitus* is, literally, 'wholly in motion', from *sollus*, which has the same root with ὅλος, and *citus*; cf. the rare words *sollifides*, *solliferreus*. The perfect participle with *habeo* emphasizes the continuance of the effect produced. Zumpt, 634; A. 292, *c*; G. 230; H. 388, 1, n. —— **nostram aetatem**: cf. n. on 26 *senectus*. —— **esse longe**: more usually *abesse*. —— **O miserum**: 'O, wretched is that old man'. Cicero oftener joins *O* with the accusative than with the nominative: he rarely, if ever, uses the interjection with the vocative in direct address to persons. —— **extinguit animum**: the doctrine of the annihilation of the soul after death was held by many of Cicero's contemporaries, professedly by the Epicureans (*e. g.* Lucretius, De Rerum Nat. 3, 417 *et seq.*; cf. also Caesar's argument at the trial of the Catilinian conspirators, Sall. Bell. Catil. c. 51, Cic. in Catil. 3, c. 4), practically by the Stoics, who taught that there is a future existence of limited though indefinite length. —— **deducit**: cf. n. on 63. —— **atqui**: see n. on 6. —— **tertium ... potest**: 'nothing can be found as a third alternative': so in Tusc. 1, 82 *quoniam nihil tertium est*.

67. quid timeam etc.: so Tusc. 1, 25 *quo modo igitur aut cur mortem malum tibi videri dicis? quae aut beatos nos efficiet, animis manentibus, aut non miseros, sensu carentis*; ib. 1, 118 *ut aut in aeternam domum remigremus aut omni sensu careamus*. For mood see A. 268; G. 251; H. 486, II. —— **aut non miser ... aut beatus**: a dilemma, but unsound and not conclusive; for *non miser* is used with reference to annihilation, and the soul may exist after death in a state of unhappiness. —— **futurus sum**: see n. on 6 *futurum est*. —— **quamvis sit**: prose writers of the Republican period use *quamvis* with the subjunctive only; see Roby, 1624, 1627; A. 313, *a*, *g*; G. 608; H. 515, III. and n. 3. —— **cui**: see n. on 38 *viventi*. —— **ad vesperum esse victurum**: 'that he will be alive when evening comes', *not* 'that he will live till the evening'. With the prepositions *ad*, *sub*, *in* the form *vesper* is generally used, not *vespera*. With this passage cf. Fin. 2, 92

an id exploratum cuiquam potest esse quo modo sese habiturum sit corpus, non dico ad annum, sed ad vesperum? Also cf. the title of one of Varro's Menippean Satires, *nescis quid vesper serus vehat*, probably a proverb. —— **aetas illa ... adulescentes**: some suppose that this sentence was borrowed from Hippocrates. —— **tristius**: '*severioribus remediis*'. Manutius. So Off. 1, 83 *leviter aegrotantis leniter curant, gravioribus autem morbis periculosas curationes et ancipites adhibere coguntur.* The adverb *tristius*, which has in prose a superlative but no positive, occurs in Fam. 4, 13, 5. —— **mens ... ratio ... consilium**: cf. n. on 41. —— **qui ... nulli**: cf. n. on 46 *qui pauci;* but *nulli* here almost = *non.* —— **nullae ... fuissent**: *i. e.* the young men would have brought every country to ruin; see 20. —— **cum ... cum**: see n. on 4.

68. **in filio ... in fratribus**: cf. Lael. 9. As to Cato's son cf. 15, 84. —— **tu**: *sc. sensisti.* —— **exspectatis ad**: a rare construction, perhaps without parallel; *exspectatis* is an adjective and takes the construction of *aptus, idoneus* etc., 'of whom hopes were entertained as regards honor'. —— **fratribus**: the sons of Paulus Macedonicus; two of them died within seven days (Fam. 4, 6, 1), one just before and one just after Paulus' great triumph in 167 B. C. —— **idem**: see n. on 4 *eandem.* —— **insipienter**: adversative asyndeton. —— **incerta ... veris**: chiasmus avoided. With the thought cf. Off. 1, 18. —— **at ... at**: the objection and its answer are both introduced by *at*, as here, in 35. —— **at ... adulescens**: these words look back to the preceding sentence, to which they are an answer. —— **ille ... hic**: here *hic* denotes the person who is more important, *ille* the person who is less important for the matter in hand; the former may therefore be regarded as nearer to the speaker, the latter as more remote. A. 102, *a*; G. 292, Rem. 1; H. 450, 2, n.

69. quamquam: see n. on 2 *etsi.* —— **quid est ... diu**: cf. Tusc. 1, 94 *quae vero aetas longa est, aut quid omnino homini longum? ... quia ultra nihil habemus, hoc longum dicimus.* For *est* see n. on 72. —— **Tartessiorum ... Gadibus**: the whole of the south coast of Spain bore the name *Tartessus*, but the name is often confined to Gades, the chief city. —— **fuit**: = *vixit.* —— **scriptum video**: so in Acad. 2, 129; Div. 1, 31; cf. also N. D. 1, 72 *ut videmus in scriptis;* Off. 2, 25 *ut scriptum legimus;* also cf. n. on 26 *videmus.* —— **Arganthonius**: the story is from Herodotus 1, 163.

P. 29. — **aliquid extremum**: see n. on 5; cf. pro Marcello 27. —— **effluxit**: strongly aoristic in sense 'at once is gone'. —— **tan-**

tum: 'only so much'. —— **consecutus sis**: 'you may have obtained'. The subjunctive is here used in the indefinite second person to give a hypothetical character to the statement of the verb. The indicative might have been expected; the expression almost = *consecuti sumus, consecutus aliquis est.* Roby, 1546; G. 252, Rem. 3; H. 486, III. —— **virtute et recte factis**: the same opinion is enforced in Tusc. 1, 109. —— **quid sequatur**: 'the future'; cf. Lucr. 1, 459 *transactum quid sit in aevo, Tum quae res instet, quid porro deinde sequatur.* —— **quod . . . contentus**: this passage with the whole context resembles Lucretius 3, 931–977; cf. especially 938 *cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis;* 960 *satur ac plenus discedere rerum.* Cf. also Hor. Sat. 1, 1, 117–118.

70. ut placeat: 'in order to secure approval'. —— **peragenda**: cf. n. on 50 *comparandae.* —— **plaudite**: the Latin plays nearly always ended with this word, addressed by the actor to the audience; cf. Hor. A. P. 153 *si plausoris eges aulaea manentis et usque Sessuri donec cantor 'vos plaudite' dicat.* —— **breve tempus** etc.: one of the poets has said that 'in small measures lives may perfect be'. Cf. also Tusc. 1, 109 *nemo parum diu vixit qui virtutis perfectae perfecto functus est munere;* Seneca, Ep. 77 *quo modo fabula, sic vita: non quam diu, sed quam bene acta sit refert.* —— **processerit**: probably the subject is *sapiens*, in which case *aetate* must also be supplied from *aetatis;* the subject may however be *aetas.* —— **ostendit**: 'gives promise of'; cf. Fam. 9, 8, 1 *etsi munus* (gladiatorial show) *flagitare quamvis quis ostenderit, ne populus quidem solet nisi concitatus.* With the whole passage cf. pro Cael. 76.

71. ut . . . dixi: in 9, 60, 62. —— **secundum naturam**: = κατὰ φύσιν, a Stoic phrase; cf. n. on 5 *naturam optimam ducem.* —— **senibus**: dative of reference; *emori* stands as subject to an implied *est.* —— **contingit**: see n. on 8. —— **exstinguitur**: there is the same contrast between *opprimere* and *exstinguere* in Lael. 78. —— **quasi . . . evelluntur**: it is rare to find in Cic. or the other prose writers of the best period a verb in the indicative mood immediately dependent on *quasi*, in the sense of *sicut* or *quem ad modum.* When two things are compared by *quasi . . . ita*, the indicative verb is nearly always put in the second clause, and may be supplied in the clause with *quasi;* very rarely are there two different verbs for the two clauses. Cf. however Plautus, Stich. 539 *fuit olim, quasi nunc ego sum senex;* Lucr. 3, 492 *agens animam spumat quasi . . . fervescunt undae.* —— **si . . . si**: for the

more usual *si* ... *sin.* —— **accedam**: see A. 342; G. 666; H. 529, II. —— **in portum**: speaking of death, Cic. says in Tusc. 1, 118 *portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus: quo utinam velis passis pervehi liceat! Sin reflantibus ventis reiciemur tamen eodem paulo tardius referamur necesse est;* cf. also ib. 1, 107.

P. 30. — 72. **munus offici**: see n. on 29. —— **tueri**: 'uphold'. —— **possit**: subject indefinite. —— **ex quo fit** etc.: the argument seems to be that youth knows how long it has to last and is therefore less spirited than age, which knows not when it will end. —— **animosior ... fortior**: Horace, Odes 2, 10, 21 *rebus angustis animosus atque fortis appare;* the two words are joined also in Cic. Mil. 92: *animosus*, 'spirited'. —— **hoc illud est** etc.: 'this is the meaning of the answer made by Solon etc'. Cf. Div. 1, 122 *hoc nimirum illud est quod de Socrate accepimus*, also the Greek phrase ἦ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο. *Est* = *valet* as in 69. —— **Pisistratus**: the despot of Athens, who seized the power in 560 B.C. Plutarch, who tells the story, 'An Seni Sit Gerenda Respublica' c. 21, makes Solon speak to the friends of Pisistratus, not to P. himself. —— **quaerenti**: see n. on 11 *dividenti.* —— **audaciter**: Quintil. 1, 6, 17 condemns those who used *audaciter* for *audacter*, which latter form, he says, had been used by 'all orators'. Yet the form *audaciter* is pretty well attested by MSS. here and elsewhere in Cicero. [See Neue, Formenlehre, 1^2 662.] For the two forms cf. *difficiliter, difficulter*. *Audaciter* is of importance as showing that *c* before *i* must have been pronounced just like *c* in any other position, not as in modern Italian. —— **certis sensibus**: Acad. 2, 19 *integris incorruptisque sensibus.* —— **ipsa ... quae**: see n. on 26. H. 569, I. 2. —— **coagmentavit**: Cic. is fond of such metaphors; cf. Orat. 77 *verba verbis quasi coagmentari;* Phil. 7, 21 *docebo ne coagmentari quidem pacem posse* ('that no patched-up peace can be made'). —— **conglutinavit**: a still more favorite metaphor than *coagmentare.* Cic. has *conglutinare rem* (Or. 1, 188); *amicitias* (Lael. 32 and Att. 7, 8, 1); *voluntates* (Fam. 11, 27, 2); *concordiam* (Att. 1, 17, 10); in Phil. 3, 28 Cic. says of Antony that he is *totus ex vitiis conglutinatus.* —— **iam**: 'further'; so below. —— **conglutinatio**: the noun occurs only here and Orat. 78 *c. verborum.* —— **reliquum**: not infrequently, as here, used substantively with an adjective modifier. —— **sine causa**: 'without sufficient reason'.

73. vetat Pythagoras etc.: the passage is from Plato, Phaedo 61 A–62 C. Plato makes Socrates there profess to quote Philolaus,

the Pythagorean; Cic. therefore refers the doctrine to Pythagoras. Cf. Tusc. 1, 74; Rep. 6, 15. The Stoics held the same view about suicide, which they authorized in extreme cases, but much less freely than is commonly supposed; cf. Sen. Ep. 117, 22 *nihil mihi videtur turpius quam optare mortem*. See Zeller, Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, Ch. 12, c (2); cf. also Lecky, Hist. of European Morals, I. p. 228 *et seq.* (Am. ed.) —— **imperatoris ... praesidio**: here Cic. seems to understand Plato's φρουρᾷ as referring to warfare; in Tusc. and Rep. he understands it of a prison. —— **sapientis**: Solon was one of the 'Seven Sages of Greece'. —— **elogium**: the distich is preserved by Plutarch, and runs thus: μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι Καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς. Cic. thus translates it in Tusc. 1, 117 *Mors mea ne careat lacrimis, linquamus amicis Maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.* The epitaph of Ennius is also quoted there and is declared to be better than that of Solon (cf. Tusc. 1, 34). —— **volt se esse carum**: 'he wishes to make out that he is beloved'; *volt esse carus* would have had quite a different sense. Cf. Fin. 5, 13 *Strato physicum se volt*, with Madvig's n. —— **haud scio an**: see n. on 56. —— **faxit**: the subject is *quisquam* understood from *nemo*. For the form see A. 142, 128, *e*, 3; G. 191, 5; H. 240, 4. The end of the epitaph is omitted here as in Tusc. 1, 117, but is given in Tusc. 1, 34 *cur? volito vivos per ora virum.* Notice the alliteration.

74. **isque**: cf. n. on 13 *vixitque*. —— **aut optandus aut nullus**: cf. 66 *aut neglegenda ... aut optanda; nullus* almost = *non* as in 67, but only in the Letters does Cic. (imitating Plautus and the other dramatists) attach *nullus* in this sense to the name of a particular person; *e. g.* Att. 11, 24, 4 *Philotimus nullus venit.* —— **sed ... esse**: 'but we must con this lesson from our youth up'. For the passive sense of *meditatum* cf. n. on 4 *adeptam*. In Tusc. 1, 74 Cic., imitating Plato, says *tota philosophorum vita commentatio mortis est.* So Seneca, *tota vita discendum est mori.* —— **sine qua ... nemo potest**: these words bring the position of Cicero with regard to death wonderfully near that of Lucretius: the latter argues that for peace of mind one must believe '*nullum esse sensum post mortem*'; the former's lesson is '*aut nullum esse sensum aut optandum*'. —— **timens**: = *si quis timet;* the subject of *poterit* is the indefinite *quis* involved in *timens*. A. 310, *a*; G. 670; H. 549, 2. —— **qui**: = *quo modo*, as in 4. —— **animo consistere**: so in pro Quint. 77; also *mente consistere* in Phil. 2, 68; Div.

2, 149; Q. Fr. 2, 3, 2 *neque mente neque lingua neque ore consistere.* The word is, literally, 'to stand firm', 'to get a firm foothold'.

P. 81.—75. L. Brutum: fell in single combat with Aruns, son of the exiled Tarquin; see Liv. 2, 6. The accusatives *Brutum* etc. are not the objects of *recorder* but the subjects of infinitives to be supplied from *profectas*. —— **duos Decios**: see n. on 43. —— **cursum equorum**: the word *equos* would have been sufficient; but this kind of pleonasm is common in Latin; see n. on Lael. 30 *causae diligendi.* —— **Atilius**: *i. e.* Regulus, whose story is too well known to need recounting. There are many contradictions and improbabilities about it. —— **Scipiones**: see n. on 29. In Paradoxa 1, 12 Cic. says of them *Carthaginiensium adventum corporibus suis intercludendum putaverunt.* —— **Poenis**: on the dat. see A. 235, *a*; H. 384, 4, n. 2. —— **Paulum**: n. on 29 *L. Aemilius.* —— **collegae**: M. Terentius Varro. There is no reason to suppose that he was a worse general than many other Romans who met Hannibal and were beaten; the early historians, being all aristocrats, fixed the disgrace of Cannae on the democratic consul. Varro's contemporaries were more just to him. Far from reproaching him, the Senate commended his spirit, and several times afterwards entrusted him with important business. —— **Marcellum**: the captor of Syracuse in 212 B. C. He fell into an ambush in 208 and was killed; Hannibal buried him with military honors. —— **cuius interitum**: abstract for concrete = *quem, post interitum.* —— **crudelissimus hostis**: this, the traditional Roman view of Hannibal, is the reverse of the truth, so far as extant testimony goes. See Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, Bk. III. Ch. 4; Ihne, Hist. of Rome, Bk. IV. —— **sed... arbitrarentur**: these words are almost exactly repeated in Tusc. 1, 89 and 101. —— **rustici**: cf. Arch. 24 *nostri illi fortes viri sed rustici ac milites;* also above, 24.

76. omnino: see n. on 9. —— **num igitur** etc.: cf. 33 *nisi forte et seq.* —— **constans**: cf. n. on 33. —— **ne... quidem**: see n. on 27. —— **satietas vitae**: cf. 85 *senectus autem et seq.*, and *satietas vivendi* in pro Marc. 27; also Tusc. 1, 109 *vita acta perficiat ut satis superque vixisse videamur.*

77. cernere: of the mind also in 82. With the context cf. Div. 1, 63 *animus appropinquante morte multo est divinior; facilius evenit appropinquante morte ut animi futura augurentur.* —— **vestros patres**: n. on 15. The elder Laelius was prominent both as general and as statesman. He commanded the fleet which co-operated with Scipio Afri-

canus in Spain and afterwards served with honor in Africa. He was an intimate friend of Cato. See Liv. 26, 42 *et seq.* —— **tuque**: so in Lael. 100 *C. Fanni et tu, Q. Muci;* but above, 4 and 9 simply *Scipio et Laeli.* —— **quae est sola vita**: cf. n. on *vitam nullam* in 7. —— **nam dum sumus** etc.: the whole of this doctrine is Platonic; cf. Lael. 13. —— **munere necessitatis et... opere**: 'function and task allotted us by fate'.

P. 32. — **immortalis**: Cicero rarely mentions the gods without this epithet. —— **sparsisse**: Horace calls the soul *divinae particulam aurae.* —— **tuerentur**: rule, or guard, or care for. Most editors wrongly take *tuerentur* to be for *intuerentur*, 'to look upon', and regard it as an intentional archaism. But cf. Rep. 6, 15 (where no archaism can be intended): *homines sunt hac lege generati, qui tuerentur illum globum quae terra vocatur;* also *tuentur* below in 82. —— **contemplantes imitarentur**: perhaps more Stoic than Platonic; the Stoics laid great stress on the ethical value of a contemplation and imitation of the order of the universe. Cf. N. D. 2, 37 *ipse homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum et imitandum;* Sen. Dial. 8, 5, 1 *Natura nos ad utrumque genuit, et contemplationi rerum et actioni.* —— **modo**: here *modus* seems to be the Platonic τὸ μέτριον, or perhaps a reminiscence of the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean (n. on 46). Translate 'in moderation and consistency of life'; and cf. Off. 1, 93 *rerum modus* 'moderation in all things'. For *constantia* see n. on 4. —— **ita**: cf. n. on 16 *et tamen sic.*

78. Pythagoran: see n. to 23. No ancient philosopher held more firmly than Pythagoras to belief in the immortality of the soul; it formed a part of his doctrine of Metempsychosis. He was also noted for his numerical speculations in Astronomy and Music. With him is said to have originated the doctrine of the 'harmony of the spheres'. —— **qui essent**: 'inasmuch as they were'. Cicero often tries to make out a connection between Pythagoras and the early Romans; cf. Tusc. 4, 2; also Liv. 1, 18. —— **ex universa mente**: the world-soul. Diog. Laert. 8 gives as Pythagorean the doctrine ψυχὴν εἶναι ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ αἰθέρος καὶ ἀθάνατον. Similar doctrines occur in Plato and the Stoics; cf. Div. 1, 110 *a qua (i. e. a natura deorum) ut doctissimis sapientissimisque placuit, haustos animos et libatos habemus;* Tusc. 5, 38 *humanus animus decerptus ex mente divina;* Sen. Dial. 12, 6, 7. —— **haberemus**: imperfect where the English requires the present. A. 287, *d*; H. 495, V. —— **Socrates**: in Plato's Phaedo.

—— **immortalitate animorum**: this is commoner than *immortalitas animi*, for 'the immortality of the soul'; so Lael. 14; Tusc. 1, 80 *aeternitas animorum*. —— **disseruisset**: subjunctive because involving the statements of some other person than the speaker. A. 341, *c*; G. 630; H. 528, 1. —— **is qui esset** etc.: 'a man great enough to have been declared wisest'. See n. on Lael. 7 *Apollinis... iudicatum*. —— **sic**: cf. *ita* above. —— **celeritas animorum**: the ancients pictured to themselves the mind as a substance capable of exceedingly rapid movement; cf. Tusc. 1, 43 *nulla est celeritas quae possit cum animi celeritate contendere*. —— **tantae scientiae**: as the plural of *scientia* is almost unknown in classical Latin, recent editors take *scientiae* here as genitive, 'so many arts requiring so much knowledge'. In favor of this interpretation are such passages as Acad. 2, 146 *artem sine scientia esse non posse*; Fin. 5, 26 *ut omnes artes in aliqua scientia versentur*. Yet in De Or. 1, 61 *physica ista et mathematica et quae paulo ante ceterarum artium propria posuisti, scientiae sunt eorum qui illa profitentur* it is very awkward to take *scientiae* as genitive. —— **cumque semper** etc.: this argument is copied very closely from Plato's Phaedrus, 245 C. —— **principium motus**: ἀρχὴ κινήσεως in Plato. —— **se ipse**: cf. n. on 4 *a se ipsi*. —— **cum simplex** etc.: from Plato's Phaedo, 78–80. The general drift of the argument is this: material things decay because they are compounded of parts that fall asunder; there is nothing to show that the soul is so compounded; therefore no reason to believe that it will so decay. Notice the imperfects *esset... haberet... posset* accommodated to the tense of *persuasi* above, although the other subjunctives in the sentence are not; cf. n. on 42 *efficeret*. —— **neque... dissimile**: in modern phraseology the whole of this clause would be briefly expressed thus,—'and was homogeneous'. —— **posset**: *quod si* = 'whereas if', the subject of *posset* being *animus*, and *dividi* being understood. —— **magno argumento**: ἱκανὸν τεκμήριον in Pl. Phaed. 72 A. Belief in the immortality of the soul naturally follows the acceptance of the doctrine of pre-existence. —— **homines scire** etc.: See Plato, Phaedo, 72 E–73 B. The notion that the souls of men existed before the bodies with which they are connected has been held in all ages and has often found expression in literature. The English poets have not infrequently alluded to it. See Wordsworth's Ode on the Intimations of Immortality from the Recollections of Early Childhood, 'Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting' etc.; also, in Tennyson's Two Voices the passage beginning,—

'Yet how should I for certain hold,
Because my memory is so cold,
That I first was in human mould'?

reminisci et recordari: a double translation of Plato's ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι, quite in Cicero's fashion; the former word implies a momentary act, the latter one of some duration. —— **haec Platonis fere**: 'so far Plato'.

79. apud Xenophontem: Cyropaedia, 8, 7, 17; for *apud* cf. 30; when Cic. says that a passage is 'in' a certain author (not naming the book) he uses *apud*, not *in*. —— **maior**: 'the elder'; cf. 59 *Cyrum minorem*. —— **nolite arbitrari**: a common periphrasis. A. 269, *a*, 2; G. 264, II.; H. 489, I. —— **dum eram**: the imperfect with *dum* is not common; see Roby, 1458, *c*; A. 276, *e*, n.; G. 572, 571; H. 519, I., 467, 4 with n.

P. 33.—80. nec . . . teneremus: the souls of the dead continue to exert an influence on the living, or else their fame would not remain; a weak argument. —— **mihi . . . potuit**: cf. 82 *nemo . . . persuadebit*. —— **vivere . . . emori**: adversative asyndeton. —— **insipientem**: in Xen. ἄφρων, *i. e.* without power of thinking. —— **sed**: 'but rather that . . .' —— **hominis natura**: a periphrasis for *homo*; cf. Fin. 5, 33 *intellegant, si quando naturam hominis dicam, hominem dicere me; nihil enim hoc differt*. —— **nihil . . . somnum**: poets and artists from Homer (Il. 16, 682) onwards have pictured death as sleep's brother. Cf. Lessing, How the Ancients Represented Death.

81. atqui: see n. on 6. —— **dormientium animi etc.**: see Div. 1, 60 where a passage of similar import is translated from Plato's Republic IX; ib. 115. —— **remissi et liberi**: cf. Div. 1, 113 *animus solutus ac vacuus*; De Or. 2, 193 *animo leni ac remisso*. —— **corporis**: the singular, though *animi* precedes; so in Lael. 13; Tusc. 2, 12, etc. —— **pulchritudinem**: κόσμον; Cic. translates it by *ornatus* in Acad. 2, 119 where *hic ornatus* corresponds to *hic mundus* a little earlier. —— **tuentur**: see n. on 77 *tuerentur*. —— **servabitis**: future for imperative. A. 269, *f*; G. 265, 1; H. 487, 4.

82. Cyrus etc.: see n. on 78. —— **si placet**: cf. n. on 6 *nisi molestum est*. —— **nostra**: = *Romana* = *domestica* in 12. —— **nemo etc.**: this line of argument is often repeated in Cic.; see Tusc. 1, 32 *et seq.*; Arch. 29. —— **duos avos . . . patruum**: see nn. on 29. —— **multos**: *sc. alios*. —— **esse conatos**: loosely put for *fuisse conaturos*, as below, *suscepturum fuisse*. So in the direct narration we might have, though

exceptionally, *non conabantur nisi cernerent* for *non conati essent nisi vidissent.* —— **cernerent**: see n. on 13 *quaereretur.* —— **ut ... glorier**: in Arch. 30 Cic. makes the same reflections in almost the same words about his own achievements. —— **aliquid**: see n. on 1 *quid.*

P. 34. — **si isdem** etc.: cf. Arch. 29 *si nihil animus praesentiret ... dimicaret.* —— **aetatem**: = *vitam.* —— **traducere**: cf. Tusc. 3, 25 *volumus hoc quod datum est vitae tranquille placideque traducere.* —— **nescio quo modo**: A. 210, *f*, Rem.; G. 469, Rem. 2; H. 529, 5, 3). —— **erigens se**: Acad. 2, 127 *erigimur, elatiores fieri videmur.* —— **haud ... niteretur**: in Cicero's speeches *haud* scarcely occurs except before adverbs and the verb *scio*; in the philosophical writings and in the Letters before many other verbs. —— **immortalitatis gloriam**: so Balb. 16 *sempiterni nominis gloriam.* Cf. also Arch. 26 *trahimur omnes studio laudis et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur.*

83. non videre: either *non videre* or *non item* was to be expected, as Cicero does not often end sentences or clauses with *non.* —— **colui et dilexi**: so 26 *coluntur et diliguntur.* —— **videndi**: Cic. for the most part avoids the genitive plural of the gerundive in agreement with a noun, and uses the gerund as here. Meissner notes that Latin has no verb with the sense 'to see again', which a modern would use here. —— **conscripsi**: in the *Origines.* —— **quo**: = *ad quos*; see n. on 12 *fore unde.* —— **Pelian**: a mistake of Cicero's. It was not Pelias but his half-brother Aeson, father of Iason, whom Medea made young again by cutting him to pieces and boiling him in her enchanted cauldron. She, however, induced the daughters of Pelias to try the same experiment with their father; the issue, of course, was very different. Plautus, Pseud. 3, 2, 80 seems to make the same mistake. —— **si quis deus**: the present subjunctive is noticeable; strictly, an impossible condition should require the past tense, but in vivid passages an impossible condition is momentarily treated as possible. So Cic. generally says *si reviviscat aliquis*, not *reviivisceret.* —— **decurso spatio**: 'when I have run my race'. See n. on 14. Lucretius 3, 1042 oddly has *decurso l u m i n e vitae.* —— **ad carceres a calce**: *carceres* were the barriers behind which the horses and cars stood waiting for the race; *calx* (γραμμή), literally 'a chalked line', was what we should call 'the winning post'. Cf. Lael. 101; Tusc. 1, 15 *nunc video calcem ad quam cum sit decursum, nihil sit praeterea extimescendum.*

84. habeat: concessive. A. 266, *c*; G. 257; H. 484, 3. —— **multi et ei docti**: as Nägelsbach, Stilistik § 25, 5, remarks, Cic. always

uses this phrase and not *multi docti.* One of the books Cic. has in view is no doubt that of Hegesias, a Cyrenaic philosopher, mentioned in Tusc. 1, 84. —— **commorandi ... divorsorium** : 'a hostelry wherein to sojourn'. The idea has been expressed in literature in a thousand ways. Cf. Lucr. 3, 938 *cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis;* Hor. Sat. 1, 1, 118 *vita cedat uti conviva satur.* Cicero often insists that heaven is the *vera aeternaque domus* of the soul (cf. Tusc. 1, 118). Cf. Epist. to the Hebrews, 13, 14 'Here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come'. —— **concilium coetumque** : so in Rep. 6, 13 *concilia coetusque hominum quae civitates vocantur.* The words here seem to imply that the real *civitas* is above; what seems to men a *civitas* is merely a disorganized crowd.

P. 85. — **Catonem meum** : see 15, 68; so Cicero in his letters often calls his own son *meus Cicero.* —— **nemo vir** : see n. on 21 *quemquam senem.* —— **quod contra** : = ὁ τοὐναντίον, 'whereas on the contrary'; cf. n. on Lael. 90 where, as well as here, many of the editors make the mistake of taking *quod* to be the accusative governed by *contra* out of place. —— **meum** : *sc. corpus cremari.* —— **quo** : put for *ad quae*, as often. —— **visus sum** : 'people thought I bore up bravely'. —— **non quo ... sed** : a relative clause parallel with a categorically affirmative clause. The usage is not uncommon, though Cic. often has *non quo ... sed quia.* For mood of *ferrem* see A. 341, *d*, Rem.; G. 541, Rem. 1.; H. 516, II. 2.

85. **dixisti** : in 4. —— **qui** : here = *cum ego*, 'since I ...'. —— **extorqueri volo** : n. on 2 *levari volo.* —— **minuti philosophi** : for the word *minutus* cf. n. on 46; Cic. has *minuti philosophi* in Acad. 2, 75; Div. 1, 62; in Fin. 1, 61 *minuti et angusti* (*homines*); in Brut. 265 *m. imperatores;* cf. Suet. Aug. 83 *m. pueri.* —— **sentiam** : future indicative. —— **peractio** : the noun is said to occur only here in Cic.; cf. however 64 *peragere;* 70. —— **haec ... dicerem** : the same words occur at the end of the Laelius; for *habeo quod dicam* Cic. often says *habeo dicere*, as in Balb. 34.

LAELIUS DE AMICITIA

INTRODUCTION.

I. ORIGIN, SCOPE, AND PERSONAGES OF THE LAELIUS.[1]

1. Date of Composition.

The Laelius was probably composed in June of the year 44 B. C. From *De Divinatione* 2, 1, 3 it is clear that when that work appeared the Laelius had not yet been written, while the Cato Maior had already been published. In the *De Officiis*, which is not mentioned in the passage referred to above, there is a reference to the Laelius. Now the Cato Maior was composed in the spring of 44 B. C., and the *De Officiis* in the following November.[2] As Cicero was travelling during July and August, while September and October were occupied by the *De Officiis*, we may suppose that the Laelius was written in June of the same year.[3]

2. Greek Sources.

There is a statement by Aulus Gellius[4] that Cicero in writing the Laelius took for his model a book of Theophrastus, entitled Περὶ Φιλίας, which appears to have been the most famous of the many treatises on the subject. The imitation was, however,

[1] On Cicero's philosophical views and writings see Introduction to Cato Maior, pp. i,–v.; on the form of the dialogue see ibid. pp. ix., x.

[2] See Ad Att. 16, 11.

[3] On Cicero's state of mind at the time and the attendant circumstances see Introduction to Cato Maior, pp. vi., vii.

[4] *Noctes Atticae*, 1, 3, 10 *et seq.*

according to Gellius, exceedingly free. Theophrastus stated simply his own views and wrote for philosophers; Cicero wrote for general readers, and put his statements into the mouth of Laelius, who, as a distinguished Roman general and statesman, would not be expected to go very deeply into philosophical questions. Besides this general following of Theophrastus there are one or two direct imitations of a discourse of Socrates on Friendship recorded by Xenophon in the *Memorabilia*.[1] In § 3 there is a slight reference to the *Theaetetus* of Plato.[2] Beyond these no distinct adaptation of Greek originals can be traced. It is extremely doubtful whether Cicero in making this treatise used the *Nicomachean Ethics*, though he knew of its existence[3] and had perhaps read it. Several points of resemblance between that work and the Laelius can be accounted for by the fact that many of Aristotle's ethical utterances had passed into commonplaces. Cicero was probably acquainted with Plato's *Lysis*, but no direct imitation of it can be pointed out. Undoubtedly he read and used here and there other Greek treatises on Friendship which are not now extant. In § 45 he adapts some lines of Euripides which Plutarch says were commented on by Chrysippus in the book Περὶ Φιλίας; the verses were so well known, however, that there is no ground for suspecting imitation.

3. Scope of the Laelius.

The Laelius belongs to the ethical works of Cicero. While the *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* contains Cicero's views of the principles of morality, the other ethical writings are concerned with the applications of those principles to actual life. The subject of Friendship, to which the Laelius is devoted, though very little elaborated by modern philosophers, held an

[1] See notes on § 62.

[2] See notes. It is commonly but erroneously said that Cicero was not familiar with the *Theaetetus*. See for example Orelli, *Onomasticon Tullianum* v. Tullius.

[3] See *De Finibus*, 5, 5, 12.

important place in the moral systems of the ancients. In post-Platonic times especially, after the freedom of Greek political life was extinguished and men of culture had to find private outlets for their energy, was Friendship brought into prominence. Numerous treatises were specially devoted to it.[1] A separate dialogue was given to it by Plato, viz. the *Lysis*, and two whole books of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (VIII. and IX.) by Aristotle. In the Laelius, however, the range of questions discussed is far narrower than was commonly the case with the Greek philosophers who wrote on the subject. The Greek *φιλία* included every form of association, even the relations of man to man, of citizen to citizen, of purchaser to buyer, and the like. Cicero, however, uses *amicitia* in a sense which is almost exactly that of the English '*friendship*'. Nor does he attempt that exhaustive discussion of all questions which had been raised or might be raised touching Friendship in this narrower sense, which we find in the two above-mentioned books of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. The practice of friendship is discussed almost to the exclusion of its theory. Cicero's treatise is indeed a kind of popular essay, dealing with those aspects of the subject which could best be made interesting to readers in general. Again and again during the course of the dialogue he emphasizes the practical character of the treatise. Indeed to have made it highly speculative would have ill suited the characters of the interlocutors.

4. Personages of the Laelius.

A. *The Scipionic Circle.*

The age of the younger Africanus was remarkable for the rapid spread of Hellenism among the educated Romans. Scipio formed the centre of a large and influential circle, composed partly of Roman admirers of Greek art and literature, partly of

[1] Merely taking the catalogues in Diogenes Laertius we find separate works on the subject by Crito, Speusippus, Xenocrates, and Aristotle.

Greek and Roman men of letters. Hellenism had been powerful for several generations in Latin literature and social life. In the Hellenism of the Scipionic circle, however, not only were old tendencies quickened, but a new and important influence was added, that of the Greek philosophy. Although the wisdom of the Greeks was known in part to the Romans at a much earlier time, its practical power over them dates from the famous Athenian embassy of 155 B. C. composed of the three great philosophers, Carneades the Academic, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic. After this time all the Greek systems struck root at Rome, but by far the greatest influence was exerted by Stoicism, of which nearly all the members of Scipio's society had a tincture more or less strong. Thus Scipio himself was devoted to the society of the Stoic philosopher Panaetius; Laelius had learned Stoicism from both Panaetius and Diogenes. There are many tinges of Stoicism traceable in our dialogue. These noble Romans, however, adopted the Stoic philosophy more on account of its utility in supplying a foundation for theories of law and government than as a form of faith. The Stoicism they professed was also a Stoicism deprived of its paradoxes and specially adapted to Roman tastes. In this form it ultimately exercised a profound influence on the national life of Rome.

Though the prevalent bent of the Scipionic circle was towards Stoicism, it was far from rejecting the society of those who adhered to other systems. Thus Clitomachus, the New Academic, was the friend of many Romans of high station in his time.

On the literary side the circle of Scipio and Laelius was strong. To it belonged Polybius, the great historian, Lucilius the satirist, and the dramatists Terence and Pacuvius, with many others scarcely less distinguished. We cannot here give any detailed account of the persons who formed this brilliant society, but must confine ourselves to such information as is necessary to illustrate the Laelius.

(1.) *Scipio.*[1]

[1] On Scipio see Introd. to Cato Maior, pp. xxi.–xxiii.

(2.) *Philus.* Several friends of Scipio are mentioned in the dialogue. Chief of these is L. Furius Philus,[1] consul of the year 136, a man of great knowledge and high character, and a friend and patron of Greek literati. He is thought worthy by Cicero to rank beside Cato and Laelius,[2] and is one of the interlocutors in the *De Re Publica.*

(3.) *Rupilius.* P. Rupilius[3] was consul in 132, and exercised great severity against the partisans of Ti. Gracchus. His consulship is said to have been due to the aid of Scipio. He commanded in Sicily against the insurgent slaves and established a code of laws for the administration of that province.

(4.) *Manilius.* M'. (or M., the *praenomen* is uncertain) Manilius,[4] consul in 149, commanded in Africa for some time against the Carthaginians with Scipio as one of his officers. He was a very eminent lawyer, and a close friend of Laelius and Scipio, appearing in the *De Re Publica* along with them.

(5.) *Mummius.* Spurius Mummius[5] seems to have been a very different man from his brother, the destroyer of Corinth. He had both wit and literary ability, which recommended him to the very intimate friendship of Scipio, with whom he is joined in Cicero's *De Re Publica.*[6] When, to secure Scipio's safety, the senate despatched him on an embassy to Asia, Mummius was his companion. Mummius spent some time in Achaia as *legatus* to his brother, and thence sent witty epistles in verse to his friends at home.[7] As a politician he was apparently unpopular and unsuccessful; and devoting himself to study he became a strong Stoic. We hear of him that he was particularly noted for his detestation of the teachers of Rhetoric.

B. *The Interlocutors in the Dialogue.*

The conversation is supposed to take place at the house of Laelius a few days after the death of Africanus the younger, in

[1] §§ 14, 21, 69, 101.
[2] Leg. Agr. 2, 64 *Phili Catones Laelii.*
[3] Lael. §§ 37, 69, 101.
[4] Lael. § 14.
[5] §§ 69, 101.
[6] §§ 1, 12, 18; 3, 35, 47, etc.
[7] Att. 13, 6, 4.

129 B.C.,[1] between Laelius and his sons-in-law, Scaevola and Fannius.

(1.) *Laelius*. The chief speaker is Gaius Laelius, the friend of the younger Africanus.[2] Laelius, distinguished as statesman, soldier, and man of letters, was born about 186 B.C. He was plebeian tribune in 151, performed heroic exploits as an officer of Scipio in the Third Punic War, was praetor in 145,[3] and commanded an army against Viriathus with success. He presented himself as candidate for the consulship in 141, but though supported by Scipio[4] he failed of election; the next year, however, he succeeded. He also held the office of augur.[5] During the greater part of his life he was a strong supporter of the aristocratic party. In his later days he sternly opposed the schemes of Ti. Gracchus.[6]

Laelius was not only one of the greatest patrons of literature Rome ever saw, but was himself a man of high culture and great ability as a speaker and writer. He was widely read in philosophy, particularly the Stoic. His Latin style was so good that the plays of his friend Terence, admired for the purity of their Latinity, were by many ascribed in whole or in part to him.[7] Some of his speeches were extant in Cicero's time, and were, on the whole, admired by him.[8]

Cicero everywhere speaks in the most eulogistic terms of Laelius' character. All authorities were unanimous as to his unswerving rectitude.[9] His self-control and moderation were remarkable.[10] Like Socrates, throughout life he never showed in his face the effect produced on his mind by changes of fortune.[11]

[1] See § 5.

[2] His father, C. Laelius, was the friend of the elder Africanus. See note on C. M., § 77.

[3] See note on Laelius 96 *praetore me*.

[4] Laelius 77, 96 etc.

[5] Lael. 7; Phil. 2, 83.

[6] Lael. 36–39.

[7] Ad Atticum, 7, 3, 10.

[8] Cicero speaks of one speech as *aureola oratiuncula*, but of another as *vetustior et horridior*. See N. D. 3, 17, 43; Brut. 21, 83.

[9] Cic. Topica 78; Lael. *passim*.

[10] Arch. 7, 16.

[11] Off. 1, 26, 90.

His gentleness and affability were great.[1] His cheerfulness and humorousness were famous.[2]

During his life and after his death Laelius bore the title *sapiens* or 'the wise',[3] a title which implies more of practical than of intellectual wisdom, though it would not have been given to any one who was destitute of culture and literary excellence. Altogether Laelius is Cicero's typical example of the best results of cultivation acting on a character which exhibited in their fullest extent the ideal Roman virtues. He is introduced as an interlocutor into two other dialogues, the *Cato Maior* with Scipio, and the *De Re Publica* along with Scipio, Fannius, and Scaevola.

The friendship of Laelius and Scipio was one of the most famous in antiquity. Laelius, says Cicero, reverenced Scipio as a god; Scipio looked up to Laelius, his senior, as a parent.[4] The views of friendship which Laelius gives in the dialogue are said by him to be mainly those of Scipio.

(2.) *Scaevola.*[5] Scaevola belonged to a family of lawyers,[6] and was himself exceedingly distinguished for his knowledge of the law. He was born about 157, and lived till 88 B.C. In 121 he was praetor, and governor of Asia. On his return a malicious prosecution was set on foot against him on a charge of malversation (*repetundarum*), but on this he was acquitted. Soon afterwards he was elected consul for the year 117. He seems to have had but little political ambition, though owing to his high character and his freedom from partisanship he exercised in the senate and in private a great political influence. His house was daily thronged by the leading men of Rome.[7]

[1] Mur. 31, 66; cf. Horace's *mitis sapientia Laeli*, Sat. 2, 1, 72.

[2] Off. 1, 108; De Or. 2, 22.

[3] In addition to the passages in the Laelius, cf. Off. 2, 40 *Laelius is qui sapiens usurpatur*, also Brut. 213; Tusc. 4, 5. Plutarch, life of Ti. Gracchus, c. 8, has the unlikely story that the title *sapiens* was given to Laelius, because having proposed an agrarian law while tribune in 151 he had the good sense to withdraw it in order to prevent civil discord.

[4] De Re Publica, 1, 18.

[5] *augur* not *pontifex*; see § 1 and nn.

[6] De Or. 1, 39 *iura civilia in nostra* (*Scaevolarum*) *familia diu versata sunt*.

[7] De Or. 1, 200; Phil. 8, 31.

The wit as well as the learning of Scaevola was renowned,[1] and he was noted for sweetness and affability of demeanor.[2] Cicero, who was in early life, along with Atticus, placed under his guardianship, always speaks of him with great affection and admiration. Scaevola appears also as one of the interlocutors in the *De Oratore* and in the *De Re Publica*.

(3.) *Fannius*. Gaius Fannius served with distinction under Scipio in the Third Punic War. He and Tiberius Gracchus were the first to mount the walls of Carthage when it was stormed. He served again in Spain, but seems to have been unsuccessful in political life. He was a man of considerable cultivation and literary activity, and wrote a history, the style of which is very faintly praised by Cicero though its accuracy was highly estimated by Sallust. His character seems to have been somewhat severe.[3] He appears with Scipio and Laelius and Scaevola as one of the interlocutors in the *De Re Publica*

II. SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE LAELIUS.

1. General View.

The Laelius, like the Cato Maior, consists of three parts: —

Preliminary, dedication to Atticus, §§ 1–5.
Introductory Conversation, 6–16.
The Discourse of Laelius on Friendship, 17-104.

2. Analysis.

Preliminary, dedication to Atticus . . . . . . §§ 1–5.

Cicero gives an account of his acquaintance with the Scaevolae (1), and explains how Scaevola, the augur, happening one day to speak of a quarrel between P. Sulpicius and Q. Pompeius, formerly friends (2), came to report a conversation between Lae-

[1] Att. 4, 16, 3.
[2] De Or. 1, 234.
[3] Brut. 101, where Cicero speaks of a coolness between Fannius and Laelius.

lius, himself, and Fannius on Friendship. This conversation Cicero has freely rendered (3). He states why he has dedicated the work to Atticus, his reasons for making Laelius the most prominent character in the dialogue (4), and the circumstances of the supposed conversation (5).

Introductory Conversation . . . . 6–16.

Fannius opens the conversation with an allusion to Scipio Africanus, and remarks that people are wondering how Laelius, whom they call 'wise,' bears the death of his friend (6, 7). Scaevola speaks to the same effect (8). Laelius, although alleging ill-health as the cause of temporary retirement, acknowledges that he has been deeply moved by the loss of Scipio (8–10). He finds consolation, however, in the reflection that Scipio is better off than he (10), because, after having enjoyed the highest esteem and honors, Scipio has passed away by a painless death, and no doubt to a happy immortality (11–14), while he, older in years, is left behind. But still the greatest solace is the remembrance of the close friendship between himself and Scipio (15). The subject of Friendship having thus been touched upon, Fannius and Scaevola unite in asking Laelius to express his views upon it (16).

The Discourse of Laelius on Friendship . . 17-104.

This discourse of Laelius comprises five distinct portions. In two instances the transitions are gracefully made through remarks by Fannius and Scaevola (§§ 25, 32).

(1) Remarks upon the Nature and Value of Friendship 17–25
Friendship is to be prized above all other things (17), but can exist only among the good, — good not in the Stoic, but in the ordinary sense (18), — and is something deeper and stronger than natural association (19). Friendship is defined, with the statement that virtue is its essential condition (20, 21), and its

advantages and importance are briefly pointed out (22–24). Remarks by Fannius and Scaevola (25).

The Basis of True Friendship — Love . . . . 26–32.

Not expediency, but affection, which, foreshadowed in the instincts of the lower animals, finds its purest and highest outcome among characters of exalted virtue, must be assumed as the source of true friendship (26–28). Friendship, therefore, though strengthened by reciprocal services, cannot originate in them (29–30), nor in hope of reward (31), nor in utility founded upon desire for pleasure (32).

(3) Duration of Friendship and the Dangers to which it is exposed . . . . 33–35.

Friendship rarely lasts till death, owing to changes in circumstances, opinions, or character (33). Especially harmful to it is the struggling after political preferment and after wealth (34), though frequently disagreements arise from wrong or unreasonable requests on the part of friends (35).

(4) Discussion of Practical Questions connected with Friendship . . . . 36–100.

A. Friendships of the wise.

a. How far one ought to go in helping a friend . . 36–44

b. Refutation of wrong views, namely, that too close friendships are to be avoided, and that friendships ought to be sought after only for the sake of assistance and freedom from care . 45–55

c. The proper limits of friendly feeling 56–61

d. The choosing and testing of friends 62–66

e. Old friends and new 67, 68

f. The necessity of equality in friendship . . . 69–75

B. Friendships of common people.

a. The severing of friendships — when and why necessary 76–78

b. The choice of friends; need for care, practical rules 78–86

c. Friendship a necessity of life 87, 88
d. The importance of frankness and truthfulness . 88–90
e. The evil of flattery 91–100
(5) Conclusion . . . . 100–104.
Virtue is the origin and bond of friendship. Next to virtue true friendship is to be prized above all other things on earth.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

LAELIUS

DE AMICITIA.

I. Q. Mucius augur multa narrare de C. Laelio 1 socero suo memoriter et iucunde solebat nec dubitare illum in omni sermone appellare sapientem. Ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scaevolam sumpta virili toga, ut, quoad possem et liceret, a senis latere numquam discederem. Itaque multa ab eo prudenter disputata, multa etiam breviter et commode dicta memoriae mandabam, fierique studebam eius prudentia doctior. Quo mortuo me ad pontificem Scaevolam contuli, quem unum nostrae civitatis et ingenio et iustitia praestantissimum audeo dicere. Sed de hoc alias, nunc redeo ad augurem. Cum saepe multa, tum me- 2
mini domi in hemicyclio sedentem, ut solebat, cum et ego essem una et pauci admodum familiares, in eum sermonem illum incidere, qui tum fere multis erat in ore. Meministi enim profecto, Attice, et eo magis, quod P. Sulpicio utebare multum, cum is tribunus plebis capitali odio a Q. Pompeio, qui tum erat consul, dissideret, quocum coniunctissime et amantissime vixerat, quanta esset hominum vel admiratio vel querella. Itaque tum 3
Scaevola, cum in eam ipsam mentionem incidisset, ex

posuit nobis sermonem Laeli de amicitia habitum ab illo secum et cum altero genero C. Fannio, Marci filio, paucis diebus post mortem Africani. Eius disputationis sententias memoriae mandavi, quas hoc libro exposui arbitratu meo: quasi enim ipsos induxi loquentis, ne 'inquam' et 'inquit' saepius interponeretur atque ut tamquam a praesentibus coram haberi sermo videretur.

4 Cum enim saepe mecum ageres, ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid, digna mihi res cum omnium cognitione tum nostra familiaritate visa est; itaque feci non invitus ut prodessem multis rogatu tuo. Sed ut in Catone maiore, qui est scriptus ad te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona quae de illa aetate loqueretur, quam eius, qui et diutissime senex fuisset et in ipsa senectute praeter ceteros floruisset; sic, cum accepissemus a patribus maxime memorabilem C. Laeli et P. Scipionis familiaritatem fuisse, idonea mihi Laeli persona visa est quae de amicitia ea ipsa dissereret, quae disputata ab eo meminisset Scaevola. Genus autem hoc sermonum positum in hominum veterum auctoritate et eorum illustrium plus nescio quo pacto videtur habere gravitatis. Itaque ipse mea legens sic afficior interdum, ut Catonem, non

5 me, loqui existimem. Sed ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus scripsi de amicitia. Tum est Cato locutus, quo erat nemo fere senior temporibus illis, nemo prudentior: nunc Laelius et sapiens, sic enim est habitus, et amicitiae gloria excellens de amicitia loquetur. Tu velim a me animum parumper avertas, Laelium loqui ipsum putes. C. Fannius et Q. Mucius ad socerum veniunt post mortem Africani: ab his sermo oritur, respondet Laelius, cuius

tota disputatio est de amicitia, quam legens te ipse cognosces.

II. FANNIUS. Sunt ista, Laeli; nec enim melior vir 6
fuit Africano quisquam nec clarior. Sed existimare debes omnium oculos in te esse coniectos unum; te sapientem et appellant et existimant. Tribuebatur hoc modo M. Catoni, scimus L. Acilium apud patres nostros appellatum esse sapientem, sed uterque alio quodam modo, Acilius quia prudens esse in iure civili putabatur, Cato quia multarum rerum usum habebat: multa eius et in senatu et in foro vel provisa prudenter vel acta constanter vel responsa acute ferebantur, propterea quasi cognomen iam habebat in senectute sapientis. Te 7
autem alio quodam modo non solum natura et moribus, verum etiam studio et doctrina esse sapientem, nec sicut volgus, sed ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem, qualem in Graecia reliqua neminem — nam qui septem appellantur, eos qui ista subtilius quaerunt in numero sapientium non habent — Athenis unum accepimus et eum quidem Apollinis oraculo sapientissimum iudicatum: hanc esse in te sapientiam existimant, ut omnia tua in te posita esse ducas humanosque casus virtute inferiores putes. Itaque ex me quaerunt, credo ex hoc item Scaevola, quonam pacto mortem Africani feras, eoque magis quod proximis Nonis, cum in hortos D. Bruti auguris commentandi causa, ut assolet, venissemus, tu non affuisti, qui diligentissime semper illum diem et illud munus solitus esses obire.

SCAEVOLA. Quaerunt quidem, C. Laeli, multum, ut 8
est a Fannio dictum, sed ego id respondeo, quod animum adverti, te dolorem quem acceperis cum summi viri tum amicissimi morte ferre moderate; nec potuisse

non commoveri, nec fuisse id humanitatis tuae: quod autem Nonis in collegio nostro non affuisses, valetudinem respondeo causam, non maestitiam fuisse.

LAELIUS. Recte tu quidem, Scaevola, et vere: nec enim ab isto officio, quod semper usurpavi cum valerem, abduci incommodo meo debui, nec ullo casu arbitror hoc constanti homini posse contingere, ut ulla intermis-
9 sio fiat offici. Tu autem, Fanni, quod mihi tantum tribui dicis, quantum ego nec agnosco nec postulo, facis amice, sed, ut mihi videris, non recte iudicas de Catone. Aut enim nemo, quod quidem magis credo, aut, si quisquam, ille sapiens fuit. Quo modo, ut alia omittam, mortem fili tulit! Memineram Paulum, videram Gallum; sed hi in pueris, Cato in perfecto et spectato viro.
10 Quam ob rem cave Catoni anteponas ne istum quidem ipsum, quem Apollo, ut ais, sapientissimum iudicavit: huius enim facta, illius dicta laudantur. De me autem, ut iam cum utroque vestrum loquar, sic habetote.
III. Ego si Scipionis desiderio me moveri negem, quam id recte faciam viderint sapientes, sed certe mentiar. Moveor enim tali amico orbatus, qualis, ut arbitror, nemo umquam erit, ut confirmare possum, nemo certe fuit. Sed non egeo medicina: me ipse consolor et maxime illo solacio, quod eo errore careo, quo amicorum decessu plerique angi solent. Nihil mali accidisse Scipioni puto: mihi accidit, si quid accidit; suis autem incommodis graviter angi non amicum, sed se ipsum
11 amantis est. Cum illo vero quis neget actum esse praeclare? Nisi enim, quod ille minime putabat, immortalitatem optare vellet, quid non adeptus est, quod homini fas esset optare, qui summam spem civium quam de eo iam puero habuerant, continuo adulescens

incredibili virtute superavit; qui consulatum petivit numquam, factus consul est bis, primum ante tempus, iterum sibi suo tempore, rei publicae paene sero; qui duabus urbibus eversis inimicissimis huic imperio non modo praesentia, verum etiam futura bella delevit? Quid dicam de moribus facillimis, de pietate in matrem, liberalitate in sorores, bonitate in suos, iustitia in omnis? Nota sunt vobis. Quam autem civitati carus fuerit, maerore funeris indicatum est. Quid igitur hunc paucorum annorum accessio iuvare potuisset? Senectus enim quamvis non sit gravis, ut memini Catonem anno ante, quam est mortuus, mecum et cum Scipione disserere, tamen aufert eam viriditatem, in qua etiam nunc erat Scipio. Quam ob rem vita quidem talis fuit 12
vel fortuna vel gloria, ut nihil posset accedere; moriendi autem sensum celeritas abstulit. Quo de genere mortis difficile dictu est; quid homines suspicentur videtis: hoc vere tamen licet dicere, P. Scipioni ex multis diebus, quos in vita celeberrimos laetissimosque viderit, illum diem clarissimum fuisse, cum senatu dimisso domum reductus est ad vesperum a patribus conscriptis, populo Romano, sociis et Latinis, pridie quam excessit e vita, ut ex tam alto dignitatis gradu ad superos videatur deos potius quam ad inferos pervenisse.

IV. Neque enim adsentior eis, qui nuper haec dis- 13
serere coeperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire atque omnia morte deleri. Plus apud me antiquorum auctoritas valet, vel nostrorum maiorum, qui mortuis tam religiosa iura tribuerunt, quod non fecissent profecto, si nihil ad eos pertinere arbitrarentur, vel eorum qui in hac terra fuerunt magnamque Graeciam, quae nunc quidem deleta est, tum florebat, institutis et prae-

ceptis suis erudierunt, vel eius, qui Apollinis oraculo sapientissimus est iudicatus, qui non tum hoc tum illud, ut in plerisque, sed idem semper, animos hominum esse divinos eisque, cum ex corpore excessissent, reditum in caelum patere optimoque et iustissimo cuique expedi-
14 tissimum. Quod idem Scipioni videbatur, qui quidem, quasi praesagiret, perpaucis ante mortem diebus, cum et Philus et Manilius adesset et alii plures, tuque etiam, Scaevola, mecum venisses, triduum disseruit de re publica, cuius disputationis fuit extremum fere de immortalitate animorum, quae se in quiete per visum ex Africano audisse dicebat. Id si ita est, ut optimi cuiusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam e custodia vinclisque corporis, cui censemus cursum ad deos faciliorem fuisse quam Scipioni? Quocirca maerere hoc eius eventu vereor ne invidi magis quam amici sit. Sin autem illa veriora, ut idem interitus sit animorum et corporum nec ullus sensus maneat, ut nihil boni est in morte, sic certe nihil mali. Sensu enim amisso fit idem, quasi natus non esset omnino, quem tamen esse natum et nos gaudemus et haec civitas, dum erit, laeta-
15 bitur. Quam ob rem cum illo quidem, ut supra dixi, actum optime est, mecum incommodius, quem fuerat aequius, ut prius introieram, sic prius exire de vita. Sed tamen recordatione nostrae amicitiae sic fruor, ut beate vixisse videar, quia cum Scipione vixerim, quocum mihi coniuncta cura de publica re et de privata fuit, quocum et domus fuit et militia communis et, id in quo omnis vis est amicitiae, voluntatum studiorum sententiarum summa consensio. Itaque non tam ista me sapientiae, quam modo Fannius commemoravit, fama delectat, falsa praesertim, quam quod amicitiae nostrae memoriam

spero sempiternam fore, idque eo mihi magis est cordi, quod ex omnibus saeculis vix tria aut quattuor nominantur paria amicorum, quo in genere sperare videor Scipionis et Laeli amicitiam notam posteritati fore.

FANNIUS. Istuc quidem, Laeli, ita necesse est. Sed 16
quoniam amicitiae mentionem fecisti et sumus otiosi, pergratum mihi feceris — spero item Scaevolae — si, quem ad modum soles de ceteris rebus, cum ex te quaeruntur, sic de amicitia disputaris quid sentias, qualem existimes, quae praecepta des. SCAEVOLA. Mihi vero erit gratum, atque id ipsum cum tecum agere conarer, Fannius antevertit: quam ob rem utrique nostrum gratum admodum feceris.

V. LAELIUS. Ego vero non gravarer, si mihi ipse 17
confiderem, nam et praeclara res est et sumus, ut dixit Fannius, otiosi. Sed quis ego sum aut quae est in me facultas? Doctorum est ista consuetudo eaque Graecorum, ut eis ponatur de quo disputent quamvis subito. Magnum opus est egetque exercitatione non parva. Quam ob rem quae disputari de amicitia possunt, ab eis censeo petatis, qui ista profitentur: ego vos hortari tantum possum, ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis; nihil est enim tam naturae aptum, tam conveniens ad res vel secundas vel adversas. Sed hoc 18
primum sentio, nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse: neque id ad vivum reseco, ut illi, qui haec subtilius disserunt, fortasse vere, sed ad communem utilitatem parum; negant enim quemquam esse virum bonum nisi sapientem. Sit ita sane: sed eam sapientiam interpretantur, quam adhuc mortalis nemo est consecutus; nos autem ea, quae sunt in usu vitaque communi, non ea, quae finguntur aut optantur, spectare debemus. Numquam

ego dicam C. Fabricium, M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium, quos sapientis nostri maiores iudicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapientis. Qua re sibi habeant sapientiae nomen et invidiosum et obscurum, concedant ut viri boni fuerint. Ne id quidem facient; negabunt id
19 nisi sapienti posse concedi. Agamus igitur pingui, ut aiunt, Minerva. Qui ita se gerunt, ita vivunt, ut eorum probetur fides integritas aequitas liberalitas, nec sit in eis ulla cupiditas libido audacia, sintque magna constantia, ut ei fuerunt, modo quos nominavi, hos viros bonos, ut habiti sunt, sic etiam appellandos putemus, quia sequantur, quantum homines possunt, naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem. Sic enim mihi perspicere videor, ita natos esse nos, ut inter omnis esset societas quaedam, maior autem, ut quisque proxime accederet. Itaque cives potiores quam peregrini, propinqui quam alieni; cum his enim amicitiam natura ipsa peperit, sed ea non satis habet firmitatis. Namque hoc praestat amicitia propinquitati, quod ex propinquitate benevolentia tolli potest, ex amicitia non potest; sublata enim benevolentia amicitiae nomen tollitur, propinquitatis
20 manet. Quanta autem vis amicitiae sit ex hoc intellegi maxime potest, quod ex infinita societate generis humani, quam conciliavit ipsa natura, ita contracta res est et adducta in angustum, ut omnis caritas aut inter duos aut inter paucos iungeretur. VI. Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio, qua quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nil quicquam melius homini sit a dis immortalibus datum. Divitias alii praeponunt, bonam alii valetudinem, alii potentiam, alii honores, multi etiam voluptates. Beluarum hoc quidem extre-

mum, illa autem superiora caduca et incerta, posita non
tam in consiliis nostris quam in fortunae temeritate.
Qui autem in virtute summum bonum ponunt, praeclare
illi quidem, sed haec ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et
continet, nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest.
Iam virtutem ex consuetudine vitae nostrae sermonisque 21
nostri interpretemur nec eam, ut quidam docti, verborum
magnificentia metiamur, virosque bonos eos qui haben-
tur numeremus, Paulos Catones Gallos Scipiones Philos
— his communis vita contenta est — eos autem omitta-
mus, qui omnino nusquam reperiuntur. Talis igitur 22
inter viros amicitia tantas opportunitates habet, quantas
vix queo dicere. Principio qui potest esse vita vitalis,
ut ait Ennius, quae non in amici mutua benevolentia
conquiescit? Quid dulcius quam habere quicum omnia
audeas sic loqui ut tecum? Qui esset tantus fructus in
prosperis rebus, nisi haberes qui illis aeque ac tu ipse
gauderet? Adversas vero ferre difficile esset sine eo,
qui illas gravius etiam quam tu ferret. Denique ceterae
res, quae expetuntur, opportunae sunt singulae rebus
fere singulis; divitiae, ut utare; opes, ut colare; hono-
res, ut laudere; voluptates, ut gaudeas; valetudo, ut
dolore careas et muneribus fungare corporis: amicitia
res plurimas continet; quoquo te verteris praesto est,
nullo loco excluditur, numquam intempestiva, numquam
molesta est. Itaque non aqua, non igni, ut aiunt, plu-
ribus locis utimur quam amicitia. Neque ego nunc de
volgari aut de mediocri, quae tamen ipsa et delectat et
prodest, sed de vera et perfecta loquor, qualis eorum,
qui pauci nominantur, fuit. Nam et secundas res splen-
didiores facit amicitia, et adversas, partiens communi-
cansque, leviores. VII. Cumque plurimas et maximas 23

commoditates amicitia contineat, tum illa nimirum prae-
stat omnibus, quod bonam spem praelucet in posterum,
nec debilitari animos aut cadere patitur. Verum etiam
amicum qui intuetur, tamquam exemplar aliquod intue-
tur sui. Quocirca et absentes adsunt et egentes abun-
dant et imbecilli valent et, quod difficilius dictu est,
mortui vivunt; tantus eos honos memoria desiderium
prosequitur amicorum, ex quo illorum beata mors vide-
tur, horum vita laudabilis. Quod si exemeris ex rerum
natura benevolentiae coniunctionem, nec domus ulla
nec urbs stare poterit, ne agri quidem cultus permanebit.
Id si minus intellegitur, quanta vis amicitiae concordi-
aeque sit, ex dissensionibus atque discordiis percipi
potest. Quae enim domus tam stabilis, quae tam firma
civitas est, quae non odiis et discidiis funditus possit
everti? Ex quo, quantum boni sit in amicitia, iudicari
24 potest. Agrigentinum quidem doctum quendam virum
carminibus Graecis vaticinatum ferunt, quae in rerum
natura totoque mundo constarent quaeque moverentur,
ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam. Atque
hoc quidem omnes mortales et intellegunt et re probant.
Itaque, si quando aliquod officium exstitit amici in peri-
culis aut adeundis aut communicandis, quis est qui id
non maximis efferat laudibus? Qui clamores tota cavea
nuper in hospitis et amici mei M. Pacuvi nova fabula,
cum ignorante rege uter Orestes esset, Pylades Orestem
se esse diceret, ut pro illo necaretur, Orestes autem, ita
ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret! Stantes plaude-
bant in re ficta: quid arbitramur in vera facturos fuisse?
Facile indicabat ipsa natura vim suam, cum homines,
quod facere ipsi non possent, id recte fieri in altero
iudicarent.

Hactenus mihi videor de amicitia quid sentirem potuisse dicere; si quae praeterea sunt — credo autem esse multa — ab eis, si videbitur, qui ista disputant, quaeritote.

Fannius. Nos autem a te potius: quamquam etiam 25
ab istis saepe quaesivi et audivi non invitus equidem, sed aliud quoddam filum orationis tuae.

Scaevola. Tum magis id diceres, Fanni, si nuper in hortis Scipionis, cum est de re publica disputatum, affuisses. Qualis tum patronus iustitiae fuit contra accuratam orationem Phili!

Fannius. Facile id quidem fuit iustitiam iustissimo viro defendere.

Scaevola. Quid? amicitiam nonne facile ei, qui ob eam summa fide, constantia iustitiaque servatam maximam gloriam ceperit?

VIII. Laelius. Vim hoc quidem est afferre: quid 26
enim refert qua me ratione cogatis? Cogitis certe. Studiis enim generorum, praesertim in re bona, cum difficile est tum ne aequum quidem obsistere.

Saepissime igitur mihi de amicitia cogitanti maxime illud considerandum videri solet, utrum propter imbecillitatem atque inopiam desiderata sit amicitia, ut dandis recipiendisque meritis, quod quisque minus per se ipse posset, id acciperet ab alio vicissimque redderet, an esset hoc quidem proprium amicitiae, sed antiquior et pulchrior et magis a natura ipsa profecta alia causa. Amor enim, ex quo amicitia nominata est, princeps est ad benevolentiam coniungendam. Nam utilitates quidem etiam ab eis percipiuntur saepe, qui simulatione amicitiae coluntur et observantur temporis causa; in amicitia autem nihil fictum, nihil simulatum est et, quid-

27 quid est, id est verum et voluntarium. Quapropter a
natura mihi videtur potius quam ab indigentia orta
amicitia, applicatione magis animi cum quodam sensu
amandi, quam cogitatione quantum illa res utilitatis
esset habitura. Quod quidem quale sit, etiam in bestiis
quibusdam animadverti potest, quae ex se natos ita
amant ad quoddam tempus et ab eis ita amantur, ut
facile earum sensus appareat. Quod in homine multo
est evidentius, primum ex ea caritate quae est inter
natos et parentis, quae dirimi nisi detestabili scelere
non potest, deinde cum similis sensus exstitit amoris,
si aliquem nacti sumus, cuius cum moribus et natura
congruamus, quod in eo quasi lumen aliquod probitatis
28 et virtutis perspicere videamur. Nihil est enim virtute
amabilius, nihil quod magis alliciat ad diligendum:
quippe cum propter virtutem et probitatem etiam eos,
quos numquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus. Quis
est qui C. Fabrici, M'. Curi non cum caritate aliqua
benevola memoriam usurpet, quos numquam viderit?
Quis autem est qui Tarquinium Superbum, qui Sp.
Cassium, Sp. Maelium non oderit? Cum duobus du-
cibus de imperio in Italia est decertatum, Pyrrho et
Hannibale; ab altero propter probitatem eius non
nimis alienos animos habemus, alterum propter crudeli-
tatem semper haec civitas oderit.

29 IX. Quod si tanta vis probitatis est, ut eam vel in
eis, quos numquam vidimus, vel, quod maius est, in
hoste etiam diligamus, quid mirum est, si animi homi-
num moveantur, cum eorum, quibuscum usu coniuncti
esse possunt, virtutem et bonitatem perspicere videan-
tur? Quamquam confirmatur amor et beneficio accepto
et studio perspecto et consuetudine adiuncta, quibus

rebus ad illum primum motum animi et amoris adhibitis
admirabilis quaedam exardescit benevolentiae magni-
tudo. Quam si qui putant ab imbecillitate proficisci,
ut sit per quem adsequatur quod quisque desideret,
humilem sane relinquunt et minime generosum, ut ita
dicam, ortum amicitiae, quam ex inopia atque indigentia
natam volunt. Quod si ita esset, ut quisque minimum
esse in se arbitraretur, ita ad amicitiam esset aptissimus;
quod longe secus est. Ut enim quisque sibi plurimum 30
confidit et ut quisque maxime virtute et sapientia sic mu-
nitus est, ut nullo egeat suaque omnia in se ipso posita
iudicet, ita in amicitiis expetendis colendisque maxime
excellit. Quid enim? Africanus indigens mei? Minime
hercule! Ac ne ego quidem illius, sed ego admiratione
quadam virtutis eius, ille vicissim opinione fortasse non
nulla quam de meis moribus habebat, me dilexit; auxit
benevolentiam consuetudo. Sed quamquam utilitates
multae et magnae consecutae sunt, non sunt tamen ab
earum spe causae diligendi profectae. Ut enim benefici 31
liberalesque sumus, non ut exigamus gratiam — neque
enim beneficium faeneramur, sed natura propensi ad
liberalitatem sumus — sic amicitiam non spe mercedis
adducti, sed quod omnis eius fructus in ipso amore
inest, expetendam putamus. Ab his, qui pecudum ritu 32
ad voluptatem omnia referunt, longe dissentiunt, nec
mirum; nihil enim altum, nihil magnificum ac divinum
suspicere possunt, qui suas omnis cogitationes abiece-
runt in rem tam humilem tamque contemptam. Quam
ob rem hos quidem ab hoc sermone removeamus, ipsi
autem intellegamus natura gigni sensum diligendi et
benevolentiae caritatem facta significatione probitatis,
quam qui appetiverunt, applicant sese et propius ad-

movent, ut et usu eius, quem diligere coeperunt, fruantur et moribus, sintque pares in amore et aequales propensioresque ad bene merendum quam ad reposcendum, atque haec inter eos sit honesta certatio. Sic et utilitates ex amicitia maximae capientur, et erit eius ortus a natura quam ab imbecillitate gravior et verior. Nam si utilitas amicitias conglutinaret, eadem commutata dissolveret; sed quia natura mutari non potest, idcirco verae amicitiae sempiternae sunt. Ortum quidem amicitiae videtis, nisi quid ad haec forte voltis.

FANNIUS. Tu vero perge, Laeli! Pro hoc enim, qui minor est natu, meo iure respondeo.

33 SCAEVOLA. Recte tu quidem: quam ob rem audiamus.

X. LAELIUS. Audite vero, optimi viri, ea quae saepissime inter me et Scipionem de amicitia disserebantur. Quamquam ille quidem nihil difficilius esse dicebat quam amicitiam usque ad extremum vitae diem permanere: nam vel ut non idem expediret incidere saepe, vel ut de re publica non idem sentiretur; mutari etiam mores hominum saepe dicebat, alias adversis rebus, alias aetate ingravescente. Atque earum rerum exemplum ex similitudine capiebat ineuntis aetatis, quod summi puerorum amores saepe una cum praetexta toga depo-
34 nerentur; sin autem ad adulescentiam perduxissent, dirimi tamen interdum contentione vel uxoriae condicionis vel commodi alicuius, quod idem adipisci uterque non posset. Quod si qui longius in amicitia provecti essent, tamen saepe labefactari, si in honoris contentionem incidissent; pestem enim nullam maiorem esse amicitiis quam in plerisque pecuniae cupiditatem, in optimis quibusque honoris certamen et gloriae, ex

quo inimicitias maximas saepe inter amicissimos ex-
stitisse. Magna etiam discidia et plerumque iusta 35
nasci, cum aliquid ab amicis quod rectum non esset postularetur, ut aut libidinis ministri aut adiutores essent ad iniuriam, quod qui recusarent, quamvis honeste id facerent, ius tamen amicitiae deserere arguerentur ab eis, quibus obsequi nollent; illos autem, qui quidvis ab amico auderent postulare, postulatione ipsa profiteri omnia se amici causa esse facturos. Eorum querella inveterata non modo familiaritates exstingui solere, sed odia etiam gigni sempiterna. Haec ita multa quasi fata impendere amicitiis, ut omnia subterfugere non modo sapientiae, sed etiam felicitatis diceret sibi videri.

XI. Quam ob rem id primum videamus, si placet, 36
quatenus amor in amicitia progredi debeat. Numne, si Coriolanus habuit amicos, ferre contra patriam arma illi cum Coriolano debuerunt? Num Vecellinum amici regnum appetentem, num Maelium debuerunt iuvare?
Tiberium quidem Gracchum rem publicam vexantem 37
a Q. Tuberone aequalibusque amicis derelictum videbamus. At C. Blossius Cumanus, hospes familiae vestrae, Scaevola, cum ad me, quod aderam Laenati et Rupilio consulibus in consilio, deprecatum venisset, hanc ut sibi ignoscerem causam afferebat, quod tanti Ti. Gracchum fecisset, ut quidquid ille vellet sibi faciendum putaret. Tum ego 'etiamne,' inquam, 'si te in Capitolium faces ferre vellet?' 'Numquam voluisset id quidem, sed, si voluisset, paruissem.' Videtis, quam nefaria vox. Et hercule ita fecit, vel plus etiam quam dixit: non enim paruit ille Ti. Gracchi temeritati, sed praefuit, nec se comitem illius furoris, sed ducem prae-

buit. Itaque hac amentia, quaestione nova perterritus,
in Asiam profugit, ad hostis se contulit, poenas rei
publicae gravis iustasque persolvit. Nulla est igitur
excusatio peccati, si amici causa peccaveris: nam, cum
conciliatrix amicitiae virtutis opinio fuerit, difficile est
38 amicitiam manere, si a virtute defeceris. Quod si rec-
tum statuerimus vel concedere amicis quidquid velint
vel impetrare ab eis quidquid velimus, perfecta quidem
sapientia si simus, nihil habeat res viti; sed loquimur
de eis amicis, qui ante oculos sunt, quos videmus aut
de quibus memoriam accepimus, quos novit vita com-
munis. Ex hoc numero nobis exempla sumenda sunt,
et eorum quidem maxime, qui ad sapientiam proxime
39 accedunt. Videmus Papum Aemilium C. Luscino fa-
miliarem fuisse: sic a patribus accepimus, bis una con-
sules, collegas in censura; tum et cum eis et inter se
coniunctissimos fuisse M'. Curium, Ti. Coruncanium
memoriae proditum est. Igitur ne suspicari quidem
possumus quemquam horum ab amico quidpiam con-
tendisse, quod contra fidem, contra ius iurandum, contra
rem publicam esset. Nam hoc quidem in talibus viris
quid attinet dicere, si contendisset impetraturum non
fuisse, cum illi sanctissimi viri fuerint, aeque autem
nefas sit tale aliquid et facere rogatum et rogare? At
vero Ti. Gracchum sequebantur C. Carbo, C. Cato, et
minime tum quidem Gaius frater, nunc idem acer-
rimus.

40 XII. Haec igitur lex in amicitia sanciatur, ut neque
rogemus res turpis nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim
excusatio est et minime accipienda cum in ceteris pec-
catis, tum si quis contra rem publicam se amici causa
fecisse fateatur. Etenim eo loco, Fanni et Scaevola,

locati sumus, ut nos longe prospicere oporteat futuros
casus rei publicae. Deflexit iam aliquantulum de
spatio curriculoque consuetudo maiorum. Ti. Gracchus 41
regnum occupare conatus est, vel regnavit is quidem
paucos menses. Num quid simile populus Romanus
audierat aut viderat? Hunc etiam post mortem secuti
amici et propinqui quid in P. Scipione effecerint, sine
lacrimis non queo dicere. Nam Carbonem, quocumque
modo potuimus, propter recentem poenam Ti. Gracchi
sustinuimus. De C. Gracchi autem tribunatu quid
exspectem non libet augurari: serpit deinde res, quae
proclivis ad perniciem, cum semel coepit, labitur. Vi-
detis in tabella iam ante quanta sit facta labes, primo
Gabinia lege, biennio autem post Cassia. Videre iam
videor populum a senatu disiunctum, multitudinis ar-
bitrio res maximas agi. Plures enim discent, quem ad
modum haec fiant, quam quem ad modum his resistatur.
Quorsum haec? Quia sine sociis nemo quicquam tale 42
conatur. Praecipiendum est igitur bonis, ut, si in eius
modi amicitias ignari casu aliquo inciderint, ne existi-
ment ita se alligatos, ut ab amicis in magna aliqua re
publica peccantibus non discedant; improbis autem
poena statuenda est, nec vero minor eis qui secuti erunt
alterum, quam eis qui ipsi fuerint impietatis duces.
Quis clarior in Graecia Themistocle, quis potentior?
Qui cum imperator bello Persico servitute Graeciam
liberavisset propterque invidiam in exsilium expulsus
esset, ingratae patriae iniuriam non tulit, quam ferre
debuit: fecit idem quod viginti annis ante apud nos
fecerat Coriolanus. His adiutor contra patriam inven-
tus est nemo; itaque mortem sibi uterque conscivit.
Qua re talis improborum consensio non modo excu- 43

satione amicitiae tegenda non est, sed potius supplicio omni vindicanda est, ut ne quis concessum putet amicum vel bellum patriae inferentem sequi. Quod quidem, ut res ire coepit, haud scio an aliquando futurum sit: mihi autem non minori curae est, qualis res publica post mortem meam futura sit, quam qualis hodie sit.

44 XIII. Haec igitur prima lex amicitiae sanciatur, ut ab amicis honesta petamus, amicorum causa honesta faciamus, ne exspectemus quidem dum rogemur, studium semper adsit, cunctatio absit, consilium verum dare audeamus libere, plurimum in amicitia amicorum bene suadentium valeat auctoritas, eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum non modo aperte, sed etiam acriter, si
45 res postulabit, et adhibitae pareatur. Nam quibusdam, quos audio sapientes habitos in Graecia, placuisse opinor mirabilia quaedam — sed nihil est, quod illi non persequantur argutiis — partim fugiendas esse nimias amicitias, ne necesse sit unum sollicitum esse pro pluribus; satis superque esse sibi suarum cuique rerum, alienis nimis implicari molestum esse; commodissimum esse quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiae, quas vel adducas cum velis vel remittas; caput enim esse ad beate vivendum securitatem, qua frui non possit
46 animus, si tamquam parturiat unus pro pluribus. Alios autem dicere aiunt multo etiam inhumanius, quem locum breviter paulo ante perstrinxi, praesidi adiumentique causa, non benevolentiae neque caritatis amicitias esse expetendas: itaque ut quisque minimum firmitatis haberet minimumque virium, ita amicitias appetere maxime: ex eo fieri ut mulierculae magis amicitiarum praesidia quaerant quam viri, et inopes quam
47 opulenti, et calamitosi quam ei qui putentur beati. O

praeclaram sapientiam! Solem enim e mundo tollere
videntur ei, qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a dis
immortalibus melius habemus, nihil iucundius. Quae
est enim ista securitas? Specie quidem blanda, sed
reapse multis locis repudianda. Neque enim est con-
sentaneum ullam honestam rem actionemve, ne solli-
citus sis, aut non suscipere aut susceptam deponere.
Quod si curam fugimus, virtus fugienda est, quae
necesse est cum aliqua cura res sibi contrarias asper-
netur atque oderit, ut bonitas malitiam, temperantia
libidinem, ignaviam fortitudo. Itaque videas rebus
iniustis iustos maxime dolere, imbellibus fortis, flagi-
tiosis modestos. Ergo hoc proprium est animi bene
constituti, et laetari bonis rebus et dolere contrariis.
Quam ob rem si cadit in sapientem animi dolor, qui 48
profecto cadit, nisi ex eius animo exstirpatam humani-
tatem arbitramur, quae causa est cur amicitiam funditus
tollamus e vita, ne aliquas propter eam suscipiamus
molestias? Quid enim interest motu animi sublato,
non dico inter pecudem et hominem, sed inter hominem
et truncum aut saxum aut quidvis generis eiusdem?
Neque enim sunt isti audiendi, qui virtutem duram et
quasi ferream esse quandam volunt: quae quidem est
cum multis in rebus tum in amicitia tenera atque trac-
tabilis, ut et bonis amici quasi diffundatur et incom-
modis contrahatur. Quam ob rem angor iste, qui pro
amico saepe capiendus est, non tantum valet, ut tollat e
vita amicitiam, non plus quam ut virtutes, quia non
nullas curas et molestias afferunt, repudientur.

XIV. Cum autem contrahat amicitiam, ut supra
dixi, si qua significatio virtutis eluceat, ad quam se
similis animus applicet et adiungat, id cum contigit,

49 amor exoriatur necesse est. Quid enim tam absurdum
quam delectari multis inanibus rebus, ut honore,
ut gloria, ut aedificio, ut vestitu cultuque corporis:
animante virtute praedito, eo qui vel amare vel, ut
ita dicam, redamare possit, non admodum delectari?
Nihil est enim remuneratione benevolentiae, nihil vicis-
50 situdine studiorum officiorumque iucundius. Quid? si
illud etiam addimus, quod recte addi potest, nihil esse
quod ad se rem ullam tam illiciat et tam trahat quam
ad amicitiam similitudo, concedetur profecto verum
esse, ut bonos boni diligant asciscantque sibi quasi
propinquitate coniunctos atque natura. Nihil est enim
appetentius similium sui nec rapacius quam natura.
Quam ob rem hoc quidem, Fanni et Scaevola, constet,
ut opinor, bonis inter bonos quasi necessariam bene-
volentiam, qui est amicitiae fons a natura constitutus.
Sed eadem bonitas etiam ad multitudinem pertinet.
Non enim est inhumana virtus neque immunis neque
superba, quae etiam populos universos tueri eisque
optime consulere soleat, quod non faceret profecto, si
51 a caritate volgi abhorreret. Atque etiam mihi quidem
videntur, qui utilitatis causa fingunt amicitias, amabilis-
simum nodum amicitiae tollere. Non enim tam utilitas
parta per amicum quam amici amor ipse delectat, tum-
que illud fit, quod ab amico est profectum, iucundum,
si cum studio est profectum, tantumque abest ut amici-
tiae propter indigentiam colantur, ut ei, qui opibus et
copiis maximeque virtute, in qua plurimum est praesidi,
minime alterius indigeant, liberalissimi sint et bene-
ficentissimi. Atque haud sciam an ne opus sit quidem
nihil umquam omnino deesse amicis. Ubi enim studia
nostra viguissent, si numquam consilio, numquam opera

nostra nec domi nec militiae Scipio eguisset? Non igitur utilitatem amicitia, sed utilitas amicitiam secuta est.

XV. Non ergo erunt homines deliciis diffluentes 52
audiendi, si quando de amicitia, quam nec usu nec ratione habent cognitam, disputabunt. Nam quis est, pro deorum fidem atque hominum! qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere? Haec enim est tyrannorum vita, nimirum in qua nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benevolentiae potest esse fiducia, omnia semper suspecta atque sollicita, nullus locus amicitiae. Quis enim aut eum 53
diligat, quem metuat, aut eum, a quo se metui putet? Coluntur tamen simulatione dumtaxat ad tempus. Quod si forte, ut fit plerumque, ceciderint, tum intellegitur quam fuerint inopes amicorum. Quod Tarquinium dixisse ferunt, tum exsulantem se intellexisse, quos fidos amicos habuisset, quos infidos, cum iam neutris gratiam referre posset. Quamquam miror, illa superbia 54
et importunitate si quemquam amicum habere potuit. Atque ut huius, quem dixi, mores veros amicos parare non potuerunt, sic multorum opes praepotentium excludunt amicitias fidelis. Non enim solum ipsa fortuna caeca est, sed eos etiam plerumque efficit caecos, quos complexa est. Itaque efferuntur fere fastidio et contumacia, nec quicquam insipiente fortunato intolerabilius fieri potest. Atque hoc quidem videre licet, eos, qui antea commodis fuerint moribus, imperio potestate prosperis rebus immutari, sperni ab eis veteres amicitias, indulgeri novis. Quid autem stultius quam, cum 55
plurimum copiis facultatibus opibus possint, cetera

parare, quae parantur pecunia, equos famulos vestem egregiam vasa pretiosa: amicos non parare, optimam et pulcherrimam vitae, ut ita dicam, supellectilem? Etenim cetera cum parant, cui parent nesciunt nec cuius causa laborent; eius enim est istorum quidque qui vicit viribus; amicitiarum sua cuique permanet stabilis et certa possessio, ut etiam si illa maneant, quae sunt quasi dona fortunae, tamen vita inculta et deserta ab amicis non possit esse iucunda. Sed haec hactenus.

56 XVI. Constituendi autem sunt, qui sint in amicitia fines et quasi termini diligendi. De quibus tris video sententias ferri, quarum nullam probo: unam, ut eodem modo erga amicum affecti simus quo erga nosmet ipsos; alteram, ut nostra in amicos benevolentia illorum erga nos benevolentiae pariter aequaliterque respondeat; tertiam, ut, quanti quisque se ipse facit, tanti fiat ab
57 amicis. Harum trium sententiarum nulli prorsus assentior. Nec enim illa prima vera est, ut, quem ad modum in se quisque, sic in amicum sit animatus. Quam multa enim, quae nostra causa numquam faceremus, facimus causa amicorum! Precari ab indigno, supplicare, tum acerbius in aliquem invehi insectarique vehementius, quae in nostris rebus non satis honeste, in amicorum fiunt honestissime; multaeque res sunt, in quibus de suis commodis viri boni multa detrahunt detrahique patiuntur, ut eis amici potius quam ipsi
58 fruantur. Altera sententia est, quae definit amicitiam paribus officiis ac voluntatibus. Hoc quidem est nimis exigue et exiliter ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum. Divitior mihi et affluentior videtur esse vera amicitia nec observare

restricte ne plus reddat quam acceperit: neque enim
verendum est ne quid excidat aut ne quid in terram
defluat aut ne plus aequo quid in amicitiam congeratur.
Tertius vero ille finis deterrimus, ut, quanti quisque se 59
ipse faciat, tanti fiat ab amicis. Saepe enim in qui-
busdam aut animus abiectior est aut spes amplificandae
fortunae fractior. Non est igitur amici talem esse in
eum, qualis ille in se est, sed potius eniti et efficere, ut
amici iacentem animum excitet inducatque spem cogi-
tationemque meliorem. Alius igitur finis verae amicitiae
constituendus est, si prius, quid maxime reprehendere
Scipio solitus sit, dixero. Negabat ullam vocem inimi-
ciorem amicitiae potuisse reperiri quam eius, qui dixisset
ita amare oportere, ut si aliquando esset osurus; nec
vero se adduci posse, ut hoc, quem ad modum putaretur,
a Biante esse dictum crederet, qui sapiens habitus esset
unus e septem; impuri cuiusdam aut ambitiosi aut
omnia ad suam potentiam revocantis esse sententiam.
Quonam enim modo quisquam amicus esse poterit ei,
cui se putabit inimicum esse posse? Quin etiam ne-
cesse erit cupere et optare ut quam saepissime peccet
amicus, quo pluris det sibi tamquam ansas ad reprehen-
dendum: rursum autem recte factis commodisque ami-
corum necesse erit angi dolere invidere. Qua re hoc 60
quidem praeceptum, cuiuscumque est, ad tollendam
amicitiam valet: illud potius praecipiendum fuit, ut
eam diligentiam adhiberemus in amicitiis comparandis,
ut ne quando amare inciperemus eum, quem aliquando
odisse possemus. Quin etiam si minus felices in dili-
gendo fuissemus, ferendum id Scipio potius quam
inimicitiarum tempus cogitandum putabat.

XVII. His igitur finibus utendum arbitror, ut, cum 61

emendati mores amicorum sint, tum sit inter eos omnium
rerum consiliorum voluntatum sine ulla exceptione com-
munitas, ut etiam si qua fortuna acciderit ut minus
iustae amicorum voluntates adiuvandae sint, in quibus
eorum aut caput agatur aut fama, declinandum de via
sit, modo ne summa turpitudo sequatur; est enim
quatenus amicitiae dari venia possit. Nec vero negle-
genda est fama, nec mediocre telum ad res gerendas
existimare oportet benevolentiam civium, quam blan-
ditiis et assentando colligere turpe est: virtus, quam
62 sequitur caritas, minime repudianda est. Sed — saepe
enim redeo ad Scipionem, cuius omnis sermo erat de
amicitia — querebatur quod omnibus in rebus homines
diligentiores essent: capras et ovis quot quisque
haberet dicere posse, amicos quot haberet non posse
dicere; et in illis quidem parandis adhibere curam, in
amicis diligendis neglegentis esse nec habere quasi
signa quaedam et notas, quibus eos, qui ad amicitiam
essent idonei, iudicarent. Sunt igitur firmi et stabiles
et constantes eligendi, cuius generis est magna penuria;
et iudicare difficile est sane nisi expertum, experiendum
autem est in ipsa amicitia: ita praecurrit amicitia
63 iudicium tollitque experiendi potestatem. Est igitur
prudentis sustinere ut cursum, sic impetum benevolen-
tiae, quo utamur, quasi equis temptatis sic amicitia,
aliqua parte periclitatis moribus amicorum. Quidam
saepe in parva pecunia perspiciuntur quam sint leves;
quidam autem, quos parva movere non potuit, cogno-
scuntur in magna. Sin vero erunt aliqui reperti qui
pecuniam praeferre amicitiae sordidum existiment, ubi
eos inveniemus, qui honores magistratus imperia pote-
states opes amicitiae non anteponant, ut, cum ex altera

parte proposita haec sint, ex altera ius amicitiae, non multo illa malint? Imbecilla enim est natura ad contemnendam potentiam: quam etiam si neglecta amicitia consecuti sint, obscuratum iri arbitrantur, quia non sine magna causa sit neglecta amicitia. Itaque verae ami- 64
citiae difficillime reperiuntur in eis, qui in honoribus reque publica versantur. Ubi enim istum invenias, qui honorem amici anteponat suo? Quid? haec ut omittam, quam graves, quam difficiles plerisque videntur calamitatum societates, ad quas non est facile inventu qui descendant. Quamquam Ennius recte:

amicus certus in re incerta cernitur;

tamen haec duo levitatis et infirmitatis plerosque convincunt, aut si in bonis rebus contemnunt aut in malis deserunt. Qui igitur utraque in re gravem constantem stabilem se in amicitia praestiterit, hunc ex maxime raro genere hominum iudicare debemus et paene divino.

XVIII. Firmamentum autem stabilitatis constan- 65
tiaeque est eius quam in amicitia quaerimus fides. Nihil est enim stabile, quod infidum est. Simplicem praeterea et communem et consentientem, id est, qui rebus isdem moveatur, elegi par est; quae omnia pertinent ad fidelitatem. Neque enim fidum potest esse multiplex ingenium et tortuosum, neque vero, qui non isdem rebus movetur naturaque consentit, aut fidus aut stabilis potest esse. Addendum eodem est, ut ne criminibus aut inferendis delectetur aut credat oblatis, quae pertinent omnia ad eam, quam iam dudum tracto, constantiam. Ita fit verum illud, quod initio dixi, amicitiam nisi inter bonos esse non posse. Est enim

boni viri, quem eundem sapientem licet dicere, haec
duo tenere in amicitia: primum, ne quid fictum sit
neve simulatum; aperte enim vel odisse magis ingenui
est quam fronte occultare sententiam: deinde non solum
ab aliquo allatas criminationes repellere, sed ne ipsum
quidem esse suspiciosum, semper aliquid existimantem
66 ab amico esse violatum. Accedat huc suavitas quae-
dam oportet sermonum atque morum, haudquaquam
mediocre condimentum amicitiae. Tristitia autem et
in omni re severitas habet illa quidem gravitatem, sed
amicitia remissior esse debet et liberior et dulcior et ad
omnem comitatem facilitatemque proclivior.

67 XIX. Exsistit autem hoc loco quaedam quaestio
subdifficilis, num quando amici novi, digni amicitia,
veteribus sint anteponendi, ut equis vetulis teneros
anteponere solemus: indigna homine dubitatio; non
enim debent esse amicitiarum, sicut aliarum rerum,
satietates; veterrima quaeque, ut ea vina quae vetusta-
tem ferunt, esse debent suavissima, verumque illud est,
quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul edendos esse,
68 ut amicitiae munus expletum sit. Novitates autem, si
spem afferunt, ut tamquam in herbis non fallacibus
fructus appareat, non sunt illae quidem repudiandae,
vetustas tamen suo loco conservanda; maxima est enim
vis vetustatis et consuetudinis. Ipso equo, cuius modo
feci mentionem, si nulla res impediat, nemo est quin eo,
quo consuevit, libentius utatur quam intractato et novo;
nec vero in hoc, quod est animal, sed in eis etiam, quae
sunt inanima, consuetudo valet, cum locis ipsis delecte-
mur, montuosis etiam et silvestribus, in quibus diutius
commorati sumus.

69 Sed maximum est in amicitia superiorem parem

esse inferiori. Saepe enim excellentiae quaedam sunt, qualis erat Scipionis in nostro, ut ita dicam, grege. Numquam se ille Philo, numquam Rupilio, numquam Mummio anteposuit, numquam inferioris ordinis amicis. Q. vero Maximum fratrem, egregium virum omnino, sibi nequaquam parem, quod is anteibat aetate, tamquam superiorem colebat suosque omnis per se posse esse ampliores volebat. Quod faciendum imitandumque 70
est omnibus, ut, si quam praestantiam virtutis ingeni fortunae consecuti sunt, impertiant ea suis communicentque cum proximis; ut, si parentibus nati sint humilibus, si propinquos habeant imbecilliore vel animo vel fortuna, eorum augeant opes eisque honori sint et dignitati: ut in fabulis, qui aliquamdiu propter ignorationem stirpis et generis in famulatu fuerunt, cum cogniti sunt et aut deorum aut regum filii inventi, retinent tamen caritatem in pastores, quos patres multos annos esse duxerunt. Quod est multo profecto magis in veris patribus certisque faciendum. Fructus enim ingeni et virtutis omnisque praestantiae tum maximus capitur, cum in proximum quemque confertur.

XX. Ut igitur ei, qui sunt in amicitiae coniunctionis- 71
que necessitudine superiores, exaequare se cum inferioribus debent, sic inferiores non dolere se a suis aut ingenio aut fortuna aut dignitate superari. Quorum plerique aut queruntur semper aliquid aut etiam exprobrant, eoque magis, si habere se putant quod officiose et amice et cum labore aliquo suo factum queant dicere: odiosum sane genus hominum officia exprobrantium, quae meminisse debet is, in quem collata sunt, non commemorare qui contulit. Quam ob rem, ut ei, qui 72
superiores sunt, submittere se debent in amicitia, sic

quodam modo inferiores extollere. Sunt enim quidam,
qui molestas amicitias faciunt, cum ipsi se contemni
putant: quod non fere contingit nisi eis, qui etiam
contemnendos se arbitrantur, qui hac opinione non modo
73 verbis, sed etiam opere levandi sunt. Tantum autem
cuique tribuendum, primum quantum ipse efficere possis,
deinde etiam quantum ille, quem diligas atque adiuves,
sustinere. Non enim neque tu possis, quamvis excellas,
omnis tuos ad honores amplissimos perducere, ut Scipio
P. Rupilium potuit consulem efficere, fratrem eius
Lucium non potuit. Quod si etiam possis quidvis de-
ferre ad alterum, videndum est tamen quid ille possit
74 sustinere. Omnino amicitiae corroboratis iam con-
firmatisque et ingeniis et aetatibus iudicandae sunt, nec,
si qui ineunte aetate venandi aut pilae studiosi fuerunt,
eos habere necessarios, quos tum eodem studio praedi-
tos dilexerunt. Isto enim modo nutrices et paedagogi
iure vetustatis plurimum benevolentiae postulabunt.
Qui neglegendi quidem non sunt, sed alio quodam
modo aestimandi: aliter amicitiae stabiles permanere
non possunt. Disparis enim mores disparia studia
sequuntur, quorum dissimilitudo dissociat amicitias, nec
ob aliam causam ullam boni improbis, improbi bonis
amici esse non possunt, nisi quod tanta est inter eos,
quanta maxima potest esse, morum studiorumque dis-
75 tantia. Recte etiam praecipi potest in amicitiis, ne
intemperata quaedam benevolentia, quod persaepe fit,
impediat magnas utilitates amicorum. Nec enim, ut
ad fabulas redeam, Troiam Neoptolemus capere potuis-
set, si Lycomeden, apud quem erat educatus, multis
cum lacrimis iter suum impedientem audire voluisset.
Et saepe incidunt magnae res, ut discedendum sit ab

amicis: quas qui impedire volt, quod desiderium non
facile ferat, is et infirmus est mollisque natura et ob
eam ipsam causam in amicitia parum iustus. Atque in 76
omni re considerandum est, et quid postules ab amico
et quid patiare a te impetrari.

XXI. Est etiam quaedam calamitas in amicitiis
dimittendis non numquam necessaria: iam enim a
sapientium familiaritatibus ad volgaris amicitias oratio
nostra delabitur. Erumpunt saepe vitia amicorum tum
in ipsos amicos, tum in alienos, quorum tamen ad
amicos redundet infamia. Tales igitur amicitiae sunt
remissione usus eluendae et, ut Catonem dicere audivi,
dissuendae magis quam discindendae, nisi quaedam
admodum intolerabilis iniuria exarserit, ut neque rectum
neque honestum sit nec fieri possit ut non statim aliena-
tio disiunctioque facienda sit. Sin autem aut morum 77
aut studiorum commutatio quaedam, ut fieri solet, facta
erit, aut in rei publicae partibus dissensio intercesserit
—loquor enim iam, ut paulo ante dixi, non de sapien-
tium, sed de communibus amicitiis — cavendum erit ne
non solum amicitiae depositae, sed etiam inimicitiae
susceptae videantur. Nihil enim est turpius quam
cum eo bellum gerere, quocum familiariter vixeris. Ab
amicitia Q. Pompei meo nomine se removerat, ut scitis,
Scipio; propter dissensionem autem, quae erat in re
publica, alienatus est a collega nostro Metello: utrum-
que egit graviter ac temperate et offensione animi non
acerba. Quam ob rem primum danda opera est ne 78
qua amicorum discidia fiant: sin tale aliquid evenerit,
ut exstinctae potius amicitiae quam oppressae esse
videantur. Cavendum vero ne etiam in gravis inimici-
tias convertant se amicitiae, ex quibus iurgia maledicta

contumeliae gignuntur. Quae tamen si tolerabiles erunt, ferendae sunt et hic honos veteri amicitiae tribuendus, ut is in culpa sit qui faciat, non is qui patiatur, iniuriam.

Omnino omnium horum vitiorum atque incommodorum una cautio est atque una provisio, ut ne nimis
79 cito diligere incipiant neve non dignos. Digni autem sunt amicitia, quibus in ipsis inest causa cur diligantur: rarum genus; et quidem omnia praeclara rara, nec quicquam difficilius quam reperire quod sit omni ex parte in suo genere perfectum. Sed plerique neque in rebus humanis quicquam bonum norunt nisi quod fructuosum sit, et amicos tamquam pecudes eos potissimum diligunt, ex quibus sperant se maximum fructum
80 esse capturos. Ita pulcherrima illa et maxime naturali carent amicitia per se et propter se expetita, nec ipsi sibi exemplo sunt, haec vis amicitiae et qualis et quanta sit; ipse enim se quisque diligit, non ut aliquam a se ipse mercedem exigat caritatis suae, sed quod per se quisque sibi carus est; quod nisi idem in amicitiam transferetur, verus amicus numquam reperietur: est
81 enim is, qui est tamquam alter idem. Quod si hoc apparet in bestiis volucribus nantibus agrestibus, cicuribus feris, primum ut se ipsae diligant, id enim pariter cum omni animante nascitur, deinde ut requirant atque appetant ad quas se applicent eiusdem generis animantis, idque faciant cum desiderio et cum quadam similitudine amoris humani, quanto id magis in homine fit natura, qui et se ipse diligit et alterum adquirit, cuius animum ita cum suo misceat, ut efficiat paene unum ex duobus!

82 XXII. Sed plerique perverse, ne dicam impudenter, habere talem amicum volunt, quales ipsi esse non pos-

sunt, quaeque ipsi non tribuunt amicis, haec ab eis desiderant. Par est autem primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum similem sui quaerere. In talibus ea, quam iam dudum tractamus, stabilitas amicitiae confirmari potest, cum homines benevolentia coniuncti primum cupiditatibus eis quibus ceteri serviunt imperabunt, deinde aequitate iustitiaque gaudebunt omniaque alter pro altero suscipiet neque quicquam umquam nisi honestum et rectum alter ab altero postulabit, neque solum colent inter se ac diligent, sed etiam verebuntur. Nam maximum ornamentum amicitiae tollit, qui ex ea tollit verecundiam. Itaque in eis perniciosus est error, 83
qui existimant libidinum peccatorumque omnium patere in amicitia licentiam. Virtutum amicitia adiutrix a natura data est, non vitiorum comes, ut, quoniam solitaria non posset virtus ad ea quae summa sunt pervenire, coniuncta et consociata cum altera perveniret. Quae si quos inter societas aut est aut fuit aut futura est, eorum est habendus ad summum naturae bonum optimus beatissimusque comitatus. Haec est, inquam, 84
societas, in qua omnia insunt, quae putant homines expetenda, honestas gloria tranquillitas animi atque iucunditas, ut et, cum haec adsint, beata vita sit, et sine his esse non possit. Quod cum optimum maximumque sit, si id volumus adipisci, virtuti opera danda est, sine qua nec amicitiam neque ullam rem expetendam consequi possumus: ea vero neglecta qui se amicos habere arbitrantur, tum se denique errasse sentiunt, cum eos gravis aliquis casus experiri cogit. Quocirca, 85
dicendum est enim saepius, cum iudicaris, diligere oportet; non, cum dilexeris, iudicare. Sed cum multis in rebus neglegentia plectimur, tum maxime in amicis

et diligendis et colendis; praeposteris enim utimur
consiliis et acta agimus, quod vetamur vetere proverbio.
Nam, implicati ultro et citro vel usu diuturno vel etiam
officiis, repente in medio cursu amicitias exorta aliqua
86 offensione disrumpimus; (XXIII) quo etiam magis
vituperanda est rei maxime necessariae tanta incuria.
Una est enim amicitia in rebus humanis, de cuius
utilitate omnes uno ore consentiunt; quamquam a
multis virtus ipsa contemnitur et venditatio quaedam
atque ostentatio esse dicitur; multi divitias despiciunt,
quos parvo contentos tenuis victus cultusque delectat;
honores vero, quorum cupiditate quidam inflammantur,
quam multi ita contemnunt, ut nihil inanius, nihil esse
levius existiment! Itemque cetera, quae quibusdam
admirabilia videntur, permulti sunt qui pro nihilo putent.
De amicitia omnes ad unum idem sentiunt, et ei qui ad
rem publicam se contulerunt, et ei qui rerum cognitione
doctrinaque delectantur, et ei qui suum negotium
gerunt otiosi, postremo ei qui se totos tradiderunt
voluptatibus, sine amicitia vitam esse nullam, si modo
87 velint aliqua ex parte liberaliter vivere. Serpit enim
nescio quo modo per omnium vitas amicitia nec ullam
aetatis degendae rationem patitur esse expertem sui.
Quin etiam si quis asperitate ea est et immanitate
naturae, congressus ut hominum fugiat atque oderit,
qualem fuisse Athenis Timonen nescio quem accepimus,
tamen is pati non possit, ut non anquirat aliquem, apud
quem evomat virus acerbitatis suae. Atque hoc max-
ime iudicaretur, si quid tale possit contingere, ut aliquis
nos deus ex hac hominum frequentia tolleret et in
solitudine uspiam collocaret atque ibi, suppeditans
omnium rerum, quas natura desiderat, abundantiam et

copiam, hominis omnino aspiciendi potestatem eriperet. Quis tam esset ferreus qui eam vitam ferre posset cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo? Verum ergo illud est, quod a Tarentino Archyta, 88
ut opinor, dici solitum nostros senes commemorare audivi ab aliis senibus auditum: si quis in caelum ascendisset naturamque mundi et pulchritudinem siderum perspexisset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore, quae iucundissima fuisset, si aliquem cui narraret habuisset. Sic natura solitarium nihil amat semperque ad aliquod tamquam adminiculum adnititur, quod in amicissimo quoque dulcissimum est.

XXIV. Sed cum tot signis eadem natura declaret quid velit anquirat desideret, tamen obsurdescimus nescio quo modo nec ea, quae ab ea monemur, audimus. Est enim varius et multiplex usus amicitiae multaeque causae suspicionum offensionumque dantur, quas tum evitare, tum elevare, tum ferre sapientis est. Una illa subeunda est offensio, ut et utilitas in amicitia et fides retineatur: nam et monendi amici saepe sunt et obiurgandi, et haec accipienda amice, cum benevole fiunt. Sed nescio quo modo verum est, quod in Andria fami- 89
liaris meus dicit:

obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Molesta veritas, siquidem ex ea nascitur odium, quod est venenum amicitiae, sed obsequium multo molestius, quod peccatis indulgens praecipitem amicum ferri sinit; maxima autem culpa in eo, qui et veritatem aspernatur et in fraudem obsequio impellitur. Omni igitur hac in re habenda ratio et diligentia est, primum ut monitio acerbitate, deinde ut obiurgatio contumelia careat. In

obsequio autem, quoniam Terentiano verbo lubenter utimur, comitas adsit, assentatio vitiorum adiutrix procul amoveatur, quae non modo amico, sed ne libero quidem digna est; aliter enim cum tyranno, aliter cum amico
90 vivitur. Cuius autem aures clausae veritati sunt, ut ab amico verum audire nequeat, huius salus desperanda est. Scitum est enim illud Catonis, ut multa: melius de quibusdam acerbos inimicos mereri, quam eos amicos, qui dulces videantur; illos verum saepe dicere, hos numquam. Atque illud absurdum, quod ei, qui monentur, eam molestiam quam debent capere non capiunt, eam capiunt qua debent vacare. Peccasse enim se non anguntur, obiurgari moleste ferunt; quod contra oportebat delicto dolere, correctione gaudere.

91 XXV. Ut igitur et monere et moneri proprium est verae amicitiae, et alterum libere facere, non aspere, alterum patienter accipere, non repugnanter, sic habendum est nullam in amicitiis pestem esse maiorem, quam adulationem blanditiam assentationem: quamvis enim multis nominibus est hoc vitium notandum levium hominum atque fallacium, ad voluptatem loquentium
92 omnia, nihil ad veritatem. Cum autem omnium rerum simulatio vitiosa est, tollit enim iudicium veri idque adulterat, tum amicitiae repugnat maxime; delet enim veritatem, sine qua nomen amicitiae valere non potest. Nam cum amicitiae vis sit in eo, ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus; qui id fieri poterit, si ne in uno quidem quoque unus animus erit idemque semper, sed varius
93 commutabilis multiplex? Quid enim potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium, quam animus eius, qui ad alterius non modo sensum ac voluntatem, sed etiam voltum atque nutum convertitur?

Negat quis, nego; ait, aio; postremo imperavi egomet mihi omnia assentari,

ut ait idem Terentius, sed ille in Gnathonis persona; quod amici genus adhibere omnino levitatis est. Multi 94
autem Gnathonum similes, cum sint loco fortuna fama superiores, quorum est assentatio molesta, cum ad vanitatem accessit auctoritas. Secerni autem blandus 95
amicus a vero et internosci tam potest adhibita diligentia, quam omnia fucata et simulata a sinceris atque veris. Contio, quae ex imperitissimis constat, tamen iudicare solet, quid intersit inter popularem, id est assentatorem et levem civem, et inter constantem et verum et gravem. Quibus blanditiis C. Papirius nuper 96
influebat in auris contionis, cum ferret legem de tribunis plebis reficiendis! Dissuasimus nos: sed nihil de me, de Scipione dicam libentius. Quanta illi, di immortales, fuit gravitas, quanta in oratione maiestas! ut facile ducem populi Romani, non comitem diceres. Sed affuistis, et est in manibus oratio. Itaque lex popularis suffragiis populi repudiata est. Atque, ut ad me redeam, meministis Q. Maximo fratre Scipionis et L. Mancino consulibus, quam popularis lex de sacerdotiis C. Licini Crassi videbatur; cooptatio enim collegiorum ad populi beneficium transferebatur. Atque is primus instituit in forum versus agere cum populo. Tamen illius vendibilem orationem religio deorum immortalium nobis defendentibus facile vincebat. Atque id actum est praetore me, quinquennio ante quam consul sum factus. Ita re magis quam summa auctoritate causa illa defensa est.

XXVI. Quod si in scena, id est in contione, in qua 97

rebus fictis et adumbratis loci plurimum est, tamen verum valet, si modo id patefactum et illustratum est, quid in amicitia fieri oportet, quae tota veritate perpenditur? In qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas, ne amare quidem aut amari, cum id quam vere fiat ignores. Quamquam ista assentatio, quamvis perniciosa sit, nocere tamen nemini potest nisi ei, qui eam recipit atque ea delectatur. Ita fit ut is assentatoribus patefaciat auris suas maxime, qui ipse sibi assentetur et se
98 maxime ipse delectet. Omnino est amans sui virtus; optime enim se ipsa novit quamque amabilis sit intellegit: ego autem non de virtute nunc loquor, sed de virtutis opinione. Virtute enim ipsa non tam multi praediti esse quam videri volunt. Hos delectat assentatio, his fictus ad ipsorum voluntatem sermo cum adhibetur, orationem illam vanam testimonium esse laudum suarum putant. Nulla est igitur haec amicitia, cum alter verum audire non volt, alter ad mentiendum paratus est. Nec parasitorum in comoediis assentatio faceta nobis videretur, nisi essent milites gloriosi.

Magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi?

Satis erat respondere 'magnas.' 'Ingentis,' inquit. Semper auget assentator id, quod is, cuius ad voluntatem
99 dicitur, volt esse magnum. Quam ob rem, quamquam blanda ista vanitas apud eos valet, qui ipsi illam adlectant et invitant, tamen etiam graviores constantioresque admonendi sunt, ut animadvertant ne callida assentatione capiantur. Aperte enim adulantem nemo non videt, nisi qui admodum est excors: callidus ille et occultus ne se insinuet, studiose cavendum est. Nec

enim facillime agnoscitur, quippe qui etiam adversando
saepe assentetur et litigare se simulans blandiatur
atque ad extremum det manus vincique se patiatur, ut
is, qui illusus sit, plus vidisse videatur. Quid autem
turpius quam illudi? Quod ut ne accidat magis caven-
dum est:

ut me hodie ante omnis comicos stultos senes
versaris atque illusseris lautissime!

Haec enim etiam in fabulis stultissima persona est 100
improvidorum et credulorum senum. Sed nescio quo
pacto ab amicitiis perfectorum hominum, id est sapien-
tium — de hac dico sapientia, quae videtur in homi-
nem cadere posse — ad levis amicitias defluxit oratio.
Quam ob rem ad illa prima redeamus eaque ipsa con-
cludamus aliquando.

XXVII. Virtus, inquam, C. Fanni, et tu, Q. Muci,
et conciliat amicitias et conservat. In ea est enim
convenientia rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia:
quae cum se extulit et ostendit suum lumen et idem
aspexit agnovitque in alio, ad id se admovet vicissimque
accipit illud, quod in altero est, ex quo exardescit sive
amor sive amicitia. Utrumque enim ductum est ab
amando; amare autem nihil est aliud nisi eum ipsum
diligere quem ames, nulla indigentia, nulla utilitate
quaesita: quae tamen ipsa ecflorescit ex amicitia, etiam
si tu eam minus secutus sis. Hac nos adulescentes 101
benevolentia senes illos, L. Paulum, M. Catonem, C.
Gallum, P. Nasicam, Ti. Gracchum Scipionis nostri soce-
rum dileximus: haec etiam magis elucet inter aequalis,
ut inter me et Scipionem, L. Furium, P. Rupilium, Sp.
Mummium: vicissim autem senes in adulescentium

caritate acquiescimus, ut in vestra, ut in Q. Tuberonis; equidem etiam admodum adulescentis P. Rutili, A. Vergini familiaritate delector. Quoniamque ita ratio comparata est vitae naturaeque nostrae, ut alia aetas oriatur, maxime quidem optandum est ut cum aequalibus possis, quibuscum tamquam e carceribus emissus
102 sis, cum isdem ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire. Sed quoniam res humanae fragiles caducaeque sunt, semper aliqui anquirendi sunt quos diligamus et a quibus diligamur: caritate enim benevolentiaque sublata omnis est e vita sublata iucunditas. Mihi quidem Scipio, quamquam est subito ereptus, vivit tamen semperque vivet: virtutem enim amavi illius viri, quae exstincta non est. Nec mihi soli versatur ante oculos, qui illam semper in manibus habui, sed etiam posteris erit clara et insignis. Nemo umquam animo aut spe maiora suscipiet qui sibi non illius memoriam atque imaginem
103 proponendam putet. Equidem ex omnibus rebus, quas mihi aut fortuna aut natura tribuit, nihil habeo quod cum amicitia Scipionis possim comparare. In hac mihi de re publica consensus, in hac rerum privatarum consilium, in eadem requies plena oblectationis fuit. Numquam illum ne minima quidem re offendi, quod quidem senserim, nihil audivi ex eo ipse quod nollem; una domus erat, idem victus isque communis, neque solum militia, sed etiam peregrinationes
104 rusticationesque communes. Nam quid ego de studiis dicam cognoscendi semper aliquid atque discendi, in quibus remoti ab oculis populi omne otiosum tempus contrivimus? Quarum rerum recordatio et memoria si una cum illo occidisset, desiderium coniunctissimi atque amantissimi viri ferre nullo modo possem. Sed

nec illa exstincta sunt aluntur que potius et augentur cogitatione et memoria mea, et, si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen affert mihi aetas ipsa solacium: diutius enim iam in hoc desiderio esse non possum; omnia autem brevia tolerabilia esse debent etiam si magna sunt.

Haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem; vos autem hortor ut ita virtutem locetis, sine qua amicitia esse non potest, ut ea excepta nihil amicitia praestabilius putetis.

NOTES TO LAELIUS.

LAELIUS DE AMICITIA (LAELIUS ON FRIENDSHIP). The main title is settled by Cicero's own words in *De Officiis* 2, 9, 31 *sed de amicitia alio libro dictum est qui inscribitur Laelius*.[1] There are reasons, however, for supposing that the author intended the treatise to bear also the secondary title, DE AMICITIA. In § 5, addressing Atticus, he says *ut tum ad senem senex de senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus scripsi de amicitia*. In like manner the Cato Maior, thus designated in *De Off.* 1, 42, 151, and in *Ad Att.* 14, 21, 3, is described in *De Div.* 2, 1, 3 as *liber is quem ... de senectute*.[2] So the MSS. give to the *Brutus*, called by this name in *De Div.* 2, 1, 4, the second title *De Claris Oratoribus*. Such double titles were not uncommon. They are frequently found in ancient citations of Plato's works and in MSS.; *e. g.* Φίληβος, περὶ τἀγαθοῦ. Varro also wrote a great number of books, called *libri logistorici*, which took their first titles from the names of persons, their second titles from their subject-matter. We may fairly conclude then that the proper complete title of the dialogue is LAELIUS DE AMICITIA.

PRELIMINARY: DEDICATION TO ATTICUS. §§ 1–5.

For summary see Introd. pp. viii., ix.

P. 1. — 1. Q. Mucius ... C. Laelio: see Introd. pp. vi., vii. —— **memoriter**: not 'by heart' or 'from memory' but 'with good memory',

[1] By some editors, however, the last three words are regarded as spurious.

[2] See Cato Maior, p. 37.

like μνημονικῶς (Xen. Cyr. 5, 3, 46). Madvig is right in saying (on Fin. 1, 34) *semper hoc vocabulum laudem habet bonae et copiosae memoriae.* —— **nec dubitare** : = *et* (*solebat*) *non dubitare.* See note on Cato Maior, 16 *non dubitavit dicere.* —— **sapientem** : see Introd. p. vii. —— **ita eram deductus** etc.: 'had been introduced to Scaevola with this design, that etc.' For this sense of *deducere*, to introduce a young man to a master or guardian, cf. Cael. 9 *ut huic virilem togam dedit... hunc a patre continuo ad me esse deductum.* It was a common practice to attach youths for a time to the society of distinguished jurists or orators; see Tac. Dial. 34; Quint. 12, 11, 6. —— **Scaevolam** : but above (line 1) Q. Mucius, in both cases the same person; Lahmeyer quotes similar changes from Cic. Dom. 115; Sall. Iug. 27, 4; Nep. Hamilc. 1, 3 and 5. —— **virili toga** : called also *toga pura* (as in Att. 7, 8, 5) to distinguish it from the *toga praetexta*, sometimes called merely *praetexta*, the purple-bordered robe worn at Rome by magistrates and children. The toga of the ordinary adult citizen was not dyed. The *toga virilis* was generally assumed at the beginning of the seventeenth year. See Becker's Gallus, Excursus 1, Scene 8. —— **quoad possem et liceret** : cf. Lucr. 2, 850 *quoad licet ac possis;* Cic. Leg. Agr. 2, 19 *quoad posset, quoad fas esset, quoad liceret.* —— **a senis ...discederem** : an exaggerated expression, as in Balb. 5 *accusator fatetur hunc numquam a Memmio discessisse;* Liv. 37, 53, 18 *numquam a consule abscessi.* —— **ab eo...disputata** : Cic. sometimes allows *disputare* in the active to govern an accusative of a neuter pronoun, in place of the usual constr., *de* with abl. In his use of the passive he is more free; thus he says in De Or. 1, 22 *re quaesita et disputata,* though he would hardly say *rem disputare* for *de re disputare.* Cf. 4. —— **prudentia** : this word usually implies not wisdom in general but skill in some special subject; here Roman Law; cf. *prudens in iure* in 6. —— **pontificem Scaevolam** : Q. Mucius Scaevola, Pontifex Maximus, was a relative of Scaevola the Augur. He was a man of exalted character and great abilities both as a jurist and as an orator. He is said to have been the first Roman who wrote a systematic treatise on the Civil Law, and his work on that subject, in eighteen books, had great influence on succeeding jurists. He was consul in 95 B.C., and having been proscribed by the party of Marius lost his life in a riot, B.C. 82. —— **me...contuli** : contrast this with *a patre deductus eram* above. —— **unum...praestantissimum** : this emphatic use of *unus* with the superlative is common in Cic., *e. g.* Tusc. 2, 64; 4, 55;

5, 66; so Verg. Aen. 2, 426 *cadit et Rhipeus iustissimus unus*, and Homer, Il. 12, 243 *εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος*. For the gen. *nostrae civitatis* cf. Tusc. 3, 81 *unum omnium maximum*. The strengthening force of *unus* is also seen in the common phrases *quivis unus*, *quilibet unus*, *unus aliquis*, *unus quisque*. See Kennedy, Gram., 34, vi. A), *b*; Madvig, 310, Obs. 2; G. 317; H. 444, 3.[1] —— **sed de hoc alias**: *sc. dicam*; in the best writers *alias* is always equivalent to *alio tempore*, never to *alio modo*.

2. cum saepe multa, tum etc.: there is a change of construction (anacoluthon) which leaves the clause *cum saepe multa* incomplete; something like *eum dicere* must be supplied. As regards the tense used with *memini*, if the person who recalls an event was a witness of it, he may either (*a*) vividly picture to himself the event and its attendant circumstances so that it becomes really present to his mind's eye for the moment, in which case he uses the present infinitive, or (*b*) he may simply recall the fact that the event did take place in past time, in which case the perfect infinitive is used. If he was not a witness, he evidently can conceive of the event only in the latter of these two ways. As regards (*a*) cf. Verg. Ecl. 9, 52 *longos cantando puerum memini me condere soles* with Georg. 4, 125 *memini me Corycium vidisse senem*. See Roby, 1372; A. 288, *b*; G. 277, Rem.; H. 537, 1. —— **hemicyclio**: a large semicircular bench, not a part of the household furniture, but placed outside in the grounds, and used for conversations, or lessons, the shape enabling the company to see each other's faces. So, at the outset of the discussion in the Academica (1, 14), Cic. says *omnes in conspectu consedimus*. —— **admodum**: qualifies *pauci*, as in Tusc. 4, 6 *nulla fere sunt aut pauca admodum Latina monumenta*, though Cic. nearly always says *admodum pauci* rather than *pauci admodum*; cf. Tusc. 2, 11; Top. 3; N. D. 3, 69; Leg. 3, 32; Phil. 3, 36 and 14, 27. In 16 we have *gratum admodum*. In sense, *admodum* corresponds with our phrase 'to a degree'. See n. on C. M. 46. —— **eum sermonem qui**: = *sermonem de ea re quae*..., like *is timor* = *timor eius rei*, common in Livy. So below, 3 *eam mentionem* = *eius rei mentionem*. Cf. 88 *illam admirationem*, and n. on 38 *ex hoc numero*. —— **tum fere**: 'just about that time'; *fere* nearly always modifies the word which immediately precedes, and is

[1] A. = Allen and Greenough's Grammar; G. = Gildersleeve's Grammar; H. = Harkness' Grammar, 'Standard' Edition; C. M. = Cato Maior. In referring to the works of Cicero the number of the section, not the chapter, is given.

often joined with expressions relating to time, when the time is not fixed with absolute exactness. So Cic. Rep. 2, 56 *decem fere annis;* Pis. 13 *quinta fere hora;* Caes. B. G. 4, 23, 1 *tertia fere vigilia.* The Greek expressions ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὡς εἰπεῖν (which have a verbal resemblance to the Latin phrase *ut ita dicam,* but do not resemble it in meaning) correspond very closely to *fere.* —— **multis erat in ore**: Cic. uses both constructions, *esse in ore alicui* and *esse in ore alicuius.* —— **P. Sulpicio**: Sulpicius was originally on the side of the aristocracy, but being plebeian tribune in 88 B. C. he became a tool of Marius and proposed some revolutionary laws. His former friend Pompeius was consul and vigorously opposed him. In a fight the son of Pompeius was slain; afterwards Sulla entered the city with an army and Sulpicius was killed. —— **utebare multum**: 'you were much in the society of...' —— **tribunus**: See A. 184; G. 324; H. 363, 3, 2). —— **capitali odio**: 'deadly hatred'. The same phrase occurs in a fragm. of Cic. (Baiter, XIII. 1, 2); cf. also Hor. Sat. 1, 7, 13 *ira capitalis.* —— **quocum**: so 15 and 77, but in 22 *quicum. Quocum* is commonly used when some particular and specified person is meant, as here and 15, *quicum* when the statement is general and the person undefined, as in 22. The MSS, however, vary so much between the two forms that it is often difficult to decide concerning them. —— **querella**: the spelling *querella* seems better attested than *querela.* Cf. Roby, 177, 2.

3. eam ... mentionem: see n. on 2 *eum sermonem.* The reference is of course to the fact that Sulpicius had turned against his former friend. This led Scaevola to the general subject of friendship.

P. 2. — **C. Fannio**: see Introd. C. is an abbreviation for GAIUS, not CAIUS, the latter form of the name having been absolutely unknown to the Romans of the Republic and early Empire. It appears in an inscription (Vol. III. No. 1178 of Mommsen's Corpus) of the time of Caracalla. On the other hand, it is not uncommon to find in modern books the abbreviation written G. instead of C. (*e. g.* in Gerlach's edition of Sallust throughout, and occasionally in R. Ellis' Catullus; so Kühner, Gram. 1, ed. 2, p. 708 '*C. oder G. Gaius*'). But the Romans always wrote C. not G. In very early times the Latin alphabet contained no letter G, and the letter C represented two distinct sounds, the guttural tenuis and the guttural media. After the introduction of G the Romans still kept up the old fashion of writing C. for Gaius and Cn. for Gnaeus; so they wrote K. for Caeso. See

Wordsworth, Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin, Ch. 2, 4; also Peile, Introd. to Gk. and Lat. Etymology, p. 336 (ed. 3). —— **Africani**: see Introd. p. iv. —— **sententias**: 'the opinions expressed in the discussion', *i. e.* their purport, not the actual words. —— **exposui arbitratu meo**: 'have rendered at my own discretion'. Like very many other nouns whose stems end in *-u*, *arbitratus* scarcely appears except in the ablative singular. The other cases of the sing. are supplied by the corresponding cases of *arbitrium*, and even in the ablative *arbitrio* is commoner than *arbitratu*. —— **quasi ... loquentis**: 'I have exhibited them as speaking in person, if I may say so'. *Quasi* modifies the too strong expression *ipsos;* cf. 27, 55, 6. On *loquentis* see A. 292, *e*; G. 536; H. 535, I. 4. A modern writer would hardly have thought it necessary to indicate that the interlocutors cannot actually appear in person. —— **ne 'inquam' etc.**: this is directly and closely imitated from the introduction to Plato's Theaetetus, p. 142, a dialogue Cic. imitates elsewhere, as in De Or. 3, 47; Tusc. 1, 8. —— **coram**: adverb here, as it is generally throughout the Republican and Augustan Latin. The prepositional use occurs in two passages of Cicero, Pis. 12 *mihi vero ipsi coram genero meo quae dicere ausus es*, and Fam. 13, 6 A, 1, and in one or two of Nepos; but Tacitus is the only writer who uses the word freely as a preposition.

4. cum enim etc.: the triple repetition of *cum* in this sentence seems careless and inelegant, but passages of the sort are not uncommon in Cic. —— **mecum ageres**: 'pleaded with me'; so *tecum agere* in 16; *agere cum populo* in 96. —— **scriberem aliquid**: so C. M. 2 *cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere.* —— **feci ... ut prodessem**: a roundabout way of saying *profui.* The constr. is a favorite one with Cic.; cf. Vat. 21 *invitus facio ut recorder;* cf. C. M. 42 *invitus feci* and n. Cic. often gives as his reason for writing the desire to serve his countrymen; so Acad. 1, 11; Div. 2, 5; Off. 2, 2. —— **Catone maiore**: see Intr. to C. M. p. ix. —— **qui est ... senectute**: which I dedicated to you ...; cf. C. M. 3; Fin. 1, 8; Div. 2, 3; Att. 8, 12, 6 *Demetri Magnetis librum quem ad te misit de concordia.* For the collocation of the words cf. Tusc. 4, 66 *eam rationem quae ... malis;* also De Or. 2, 61 *libri qui sunt fere inscripti de.* —— **induxi ... persona**: both words are connected with the stage. *Inducere* is literally 'to bring upon the boards' (cf. 59): *persona* properly means a mask, here 'a type of character' as we say. See n. on C. M. 3 *facimus admirantis;* also cf. Lael. 93, 100, and for the general sense of the passage Att. 13, 19,

5 *haec Academica, ut scis, cum Catulo Lucullo Hortensio contuleram. Sane in personas non cadebant;* ib. 13, 16, 1 *ecce tuae litterae de Varrone. Nemini visa est aptior* 'Αντιοχεία *ratio.* —— **loqueretur**: Cic. very frequently uses *loqui* (but not *dicere*) when the subject is an abstract noun, as here *persona* practically is. So Fin. 2, 48 *consuetudo loquitur;* ib. 4, 41 *institutio hominis si loqueretur;* Acad. 2, 101 *conclusio loquitur.* For the mood see n. on *dissereret* below. —— **floruisset**: at first sight this seems a reference to the physical and mental powers for which Cato was famous in advanced age. Cic., however, does not use *florere* in the sense of *vigere;* Nauck therefore is probably right in supposing the word to refer to the general worldly prosperity of Cato, indicated in C. M. 8. On the subjunctive see A. 320, *e*; G. 636; H. 517. —— **maxime memorabilem**: superlatives from adjectives in *-bilis* are rare. In 51 we have *amabilissimum;* Cato has *stabilissimus,* Columella *mirabilissimum,* and *mobilissimus* is common; these are all the instances which appear until post-Augustan times. Several adjectives of this class, as *laudabilis, probabilis, flebilis,* have comparatives, but no superlatives, in pre-Classical or Classical Latin. —— **disputata**: it is not necessary to supply *esse* so as to make this a case of the perfect infinitive after *meminisset. Disputare aliquid* (cf. n. on 1) often means not 'to discuss an opinion', but 'to put an opinion forward in discussion', and so to defend or maintain it. —— **dissereret**: A. 320, *f*; G. 633; H. 503, II. 2. —— **meminisset**: A. 342; G. 631; H. 529, II. —— **genus hoc sermonum**: = *sermones huius generis;* cf. 12 *quo de genere mortis;* 93 *quod genus amici.* —— **positum**: A. 290, *a*; G. 669; H. 549, 1. —— **hominum veterum**: 'men of the olden time'. —— **et eorum**: introduced for sake of emphasis. G. 293, Rem. 2; H. 451, 2. —— **nescio quo pacto**: 'somehow'. See A. 334, *e*; G. 469, Rem. 2; H. 529, 5, 3). —— **mea**: *sc. scripta,* as in Acad. 1, 8 *nihil magno opere meorum miror.*

5. senem senex: at the time the Cato Maior was written Atticus was 65 and Cic. 62. Note the fondness of Cic. as well as of other Latins for bringing into juxtaposition different cases of the same word. So De Or. 2, 310 *rebus res* and Lucr. 1, 359 *res rebus;* cf. also below, 25 *iustitiam iustissimo.* See A. 344, *g*; G. 683; H. 563. —— **hoc libro**: this corresponds to *tum* above; *nunc* would have been more formally correct; so below *tum ... nunc. Liber* is put in the abl. without *in* when the whole book is referred to, with *in* when

reference is made to some particular passage. Roby, 1177; G. 385, Rem.; H. 425, 2, n. 1. With *hoc libro* here cf. C. M. 54 *in eo libro.* —— **scripsi de amicitia**: it is not often that Cic. leaves out the object after *scribere;* above in 4 *aliquid* is added. Sometimes a qualifying adverb takes the place of the object, as Att. 9, 15, 5 *quod scribis me asperius quam mei patiantur mores de Dionysio scripsisse.* Here the phrase *ad amicum amicissimus* softens the construction. Cf. however Fam. 9, 16, 1; 14, 2, 4. —— **senior ... excellens**: notice the order of the phrases, *sapiens* corresponding with *prudentior*, and *senior* with *amicitiae gloria excellens;* an instance of chiasmus. —— **tu velim ... avertas**: on *velim* see A. 311, *b*; G. 250; H. 486, I. n. 1. When Cic. uses the subjunctive construction after *volo* he nearly always leaves out *ut*, as here. A. 331, *f*, Rem.; G. 546, Rem. 3; H. 499, 2. The subject of the dependent verb, if expressed, always precedes the words *velim*, *vellem*, *malim* and the like, as in the present passage; cf. also Tusc. 5, 20 *nos vellem praemio elicere possemus*, and Fam. 15, 3, 2. —— **Laelium ... putes**: the omission of a conjunction to connect two clauses is particularly common in Cic. when two clauses are contrasted, as here and below, *ab his sermo oritur, respondet Laelius;* cf. 49, 69; 13, 19, 22, 90.

P. 8. — **disputatio**: here not 'discussion', but merely 'discourse'; cf. De Or. 2, 233 *disputes quid sentias;* also n. on 4. —— **te ipse cognosces**: 'you will recognize your own likeness'. Cf. 10, *me ipse consolor;* also 59, 80. In these places *ipse*, not *ipsum*, is put for emphasis, because there is an implied contrast between the subject of the verb and other persons, so that *ipse* = καὶ αὐτός; here 'you yourself, as well as others'. Cf. C. M. 4 *a se ipsi* and n. A. 195, *h*; G. 298; H. 452, 1.

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For summary see Introd. p. ix.

6. sunt ista: 'what you say is true'; *sunt ista* (ἔστι ταῦτα) and *sunt ista vera* are almost equivalent expressions. The phrases *esto* ('be it granted') and *verum esto* are frequently interchanged, as in Cic. Flacc. 71, 72, 95. —— **existimare ... existimant**: the repetition is a mark of careless writing. —— **oculos ... coniectos**: the cause is given at the end of 7. —— **hoc**: *i. e. ut sapiens et appellaretur et existimaretur.* For the tense of *tribuebatur* see n. on 37 *videbamus.*

—— **modo**: 'a little while since'; the expression is somewhat loose since Cato died in 149 B.C.; cf. the use of *nuper* in 13, 24. Cf. n. on C. M. 27. —— **L. Acilium**: supposed to be the person mentioned by Cic. Leg. 2, 59 as a commentator on the XII tables, and probably a contemporary of Cato. By some he is thought to be the person named by Liv. 40, 31, 1 as commander of the left wing of the Roman army at the battle of Aebura in 181 B.C. Some read in our passage *L. Atilius*, a name about which nothing is known. —— **uterque**: *sc. sapiens appellatus est* or *habuit hoc nomen sapientis.* —— **alio quodam modo**: 'in a somewhat different way'; supply in thought *atque tu.* Cf. 25 *aliud quoddam;* 7 and 74 *alio quodam modo. Quidam* (like *quasi* in 3) is often used to indicate that the word to which it is attached does not actually represent the writer's meaning. In the passages quoted above *quodam*, *quoddam* etc. indicate that *alio*, *aliud* etc. are too strong for Cicero's meaning. On the other hand, in 29, 45, 75, 59 the parts of *quidam* used show that Cicero cannot find terms strong enough, and that the terms used are only make-shifts. The indefinite τὶς is used in the same two ways in Greek. —— **prudens in iure**: Seyffert rightly points out that Cic. does not use *prudens* with a genitive. The phrase *iuris prudens* (for *iuris peritus* or *consultus*) is not Latin, though *iuris prudentia* occurs, as in De Or. 1, 256, and though jurisconsults are styled *prudentes.* Cic. has *imprudens* with gen. in De Inv. 2, 95, also *prudens ad* in pro Font. 43; and *prudentia* often both with gen. and with *in* and abl. See Holland, Jurisprudence, page 2, with notes and references. —— **multarum rerum usum**: 'a manifold experience'. Liv. 39, 40, 4 says of him *nulla ars neque privatae neque publicae rei gerendae ei defuit.* —— **multa eius ... ferebantur**: 'many instances where both in the senate and in the forum he displayed either wise foresight, or firm conduct, or shrewdness in reply, were on every tongue'. The chief reference in *responsa* is to Cato's fame as a lawyer. According to old Roman custom he sat at home in the early morning, on purpose to resolve the legal difficulties of all who chose to consult him. This was technically called *ius respondere.* —— **quasi**: 'almost'; cf. n. on 3. —— **iam**: *i.e.* even before his death. —— **sapientis**: the Latins said *nomen iustitiae*, *vox fortitudinis*, *appellatio prudentis* etc. where we use apposition—'the name justice', 'the word courage', 'the title skilful'. A. 214, *f*; G. 359; H. 396, VI. Cf. 92 *nomen amicitiae*, and for the sense C. M. 5 *sapientiam ... cognomine!* Note that the same term

cognomen is applied to the inherited third name *Cato* and to the acquired name *sapiens*. In late Latin *agnomen* was applied to the latter to mark the distinction.

7. te...esse sapientem: this clause was intended to depend on *existimant* below, but owing to the great length of the sentence Cic. made a pause at *iudicatum*, and repeated the gist of the sentence down to that point in the words *hanc...sapientiam*, which depend on *existimant*. The sentence is an example of anacoluthon.—— **non solum...doctrina**: here *natura* denotes the intellectual endowments with which a man is born, and *mores* his natural character; cf. 27. *Studium* or devotion to the pursuit of learning depends on *mores*, *doctrina* or attainment on this combined with *natura*. The two words *natura* and *mores* together comprise the natural endowments of a man, while *studium* and *doctrina* indicate his acquirements. Cf. Acad. 1, 20; Arch. 15. *Studio et doctrina* 'by devotion and culture'; not a case of hendiadys. Cf. n. on C. M. 15 *iuventute et viribus*; De Or. 1, 22; Arch. 3.—— **reliqua**: this word is proleptic or anticipative, since its sense is not fully seen till we come to *Athenis* which completes the contrast. So *ceterus* is often used, and λοιπός, ἄλλος in Greek. —— **septem**: 'the seven', *sapientes* being understood, as in 59. So XII alone often stands for XII *tabulae* (Leg. 2, 59, 60), and Asinius Pollio has (in Cic. Fam. 10, 32, 2) XIV for XIV *ordines*. —— **subtilius**: 'with more than usual accuracy'. *Subtilis* is often the exact equivalent of the Greek ἀκριβής. —— **non habent**: Cic. in Off. 3, 16 denies the title *sapiens* not only to the seven, but to Cato and to Laelius himself. —— **unum**: emphatic: 'one only', *i. e.* Socrates. Cic. nearly always leaves the English 'only' unexpressed, but occasionally he uses *modo*, and once (Acad. 2, 74) *tantum*. —— **et eum quidem**: these words add emphasis to *sapientissimum*; cf. 4 *et eorum* and n. —— **Apollinis... iudicatum**: Socrates in Plato's Apology, p. 21 A merely says that the oracle declared that no one was wiser than himself (μηδένα σοφώτερον εἶναι). The person who put the inquiry to the oracle, Chaerephon, a pupil of Socrates, was dead when the trial took place, but his brother bore evidence to the facts. Xenophon in his Apology, § 14 (if it be his) makes Socrates speak more definitely about the oracles — ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων μηδένα εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ μήτε ἐλευθεριώτερον μήτε δικαιότερον μήτε σωφρονέστερον. In another part of the Apology by Plato (33 C) Socrates says that the life he followed

had been enjoined on him by the Delphian god *καὶ ἐκ μαντείων καὶ ἐξ ἐνυπνίων*. The Scholiast on Aristophanes' Nubes 114 gives there the actual words of the answer to Chaerephon: *σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης, ἀνδρῶν δ' ἁπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτερος*. The latter of the two lines is also preserved by Diogenes Laertius 2, 5, § 37. Cic. speaks in four other passages of the oracle, viz. Lael. 10 and 13, Cat. M. 78, Academ. 1, 16. —— **omnia...esse**: the Stoic doctrine is here hinted at, that virtue is the only thing deserving the name of good, and that the happiness of the truly wise man is absolutely unaffected by external circumstances. People were curious to see whether Laelius would try to carry out his philosophy, and to appear careless about the death of his friend. Cf. n. on C. M. 4 *qui...petunt* —— **virtute inferiores**: 'of less importance than virtue'. This (see preceding n.) is not strong enough to express the Stoic doctrine. —— **credo**: merely parenthetic, and without influence on the construction. The verb to be supplied for this clause is *quaerunt*, not *quaerere*. —— **hoc**: 'our friend here'; so 32. —— **quonam pacto**: lit. 'on what conditions', *pactum* (*paciscor*) being properly something agreed on between two persons. The phrase came to be used in exactly the same sense as *quonam modo*; cf. 4 *nescio quo pacto* with 89 *nescio quo modo*. —— **eoque magis**: *sc. quaerunt*. The sentence from *quod* onwards is explanatory of *eo*, which is the ablative of excess dependent on *magis*. —— **proximis**: 'the last'. *Proximus* is used both of the future and of the past. Occasionally a word is inserted to define the meaning more nearly, as Fam. 1, 9, 20 *proximis superioribus diebus*; Tac. A. 1, 77 *proximo priore anno*, and also when *proximus* is used of space, as Cic. Orat. 216 *proximum superiorem pedem*; N. D. 2, 53 *proximum inferiorem orbem*. —— **Bruti**: D. Iunius Brutus, surnamed Gallaecus from his conquest of the Gallaeci, consul in 138 B.C. He appears as augur only in our passage. —— **commentandi causa**: 'with a view to practice', *i. e.* in the augural art. *Commentari* is properly 'to con over a lesson', *μελετᾶν*. For the custom cf. Cic. Div. 1, 90 *divinant Magi qui congregantur in fano commentandi causa atque inter se colloquendi, quod etiam idem vos quondam facere Nonis solebatis*. As the augurs required for their practice an open space whence they could get an uninterrupted view of the sky they usually met in some gentleman's park (*horti*) outside the city: cf. N. D. 2, 11. —— **qui ...solitus esses**: 'though you had been accustomed'. For this

use of the subj. with *qui*, to express an idea contrasting with, or opposed to that of the preceding clause or sentence, cf. Brut. 127 *hic, qui in collegio sacerdotum esset, iudicio publico est condemnatus.* Cf. A. 326; G. 637; H. 515, III.

8. C. Laeli: the addition of the *praenomen*, not usual in familiar conversation, gives formality to the address: cf. 100. —— **animum adverti**: *animum advertere* and *animadvertere* (cf. 27) differ very little in use and not at all in sense. *Animum advertere* is said to be necessary when the construction *ad aliquid* (to turn the mind to something) follows. —— **cum ... amicissimi**: the natural order would have been *viri cum summi tum amicissimi.* A word however which (like *viri* here) stands in the same relation towards two other words or phrases, is often placed thus between the two. The old grammarians called this usage *coniunctio;* cf. Cornificius Ad Herennium 4, 38 *coniunctio est cum interpositione verbi et superiores orationis partes comprehenduntur et inferiores, hoc modo: Formae dignitas aut morbo deflorescit aut vetustate.* G. 682; H. 564, I. II. —— **moderate**: the Stoics, whom Laelius followed, declared all emotion vicious, and therefore not to be entertained by the philosopher either to a moderate or to an immoderate extent; see Tusc. Book 4, particularly § 42 *nihil interest utrum moderatas perturbationes approbent an moderatam iniustitiam, moderatam ignaviam, moderatam intemperantiam* —— **nec ... tuae**: 'and that to be so (*id*) did not accord with your cultured spirit'. *Humanitas* corresponds in sense almost exactly with our 'culture', *i. e.* education when accompanied by its best fruits, gentleness and refinement.

P. 4. — **quod** etc.: A. 333, *a*; G. 525, Rem. 2; H. 540, IV. —— **collegio**: *i. e.* of augurs. —— **valetudinem**: not to be translated by 'ill-health' or 'sickness', but simply by 'health', the English word being just as undefined as the Latin, which receives its definition from the context; cf. 22. —— **maestitiam**: this is the right spelling, not *moestitiam;* so *maestus* not *moestus, maereo* not *moereo.* —— **recte ... et vere**: *sc. respondeas.* —— **officio**: corresponds to *munus* as *usurpavi* does to *obire. Usurpare* is to say or do something habitually or repeatedly, here 'to perform regularly'. Cf. 28. —— **incommodo**: note the slightness of the expression, as applied to the death of a very dear friend, and cf. n. on 10. —— **constanti homini**: 'a man of strong character'. *Constans homo* (Horace's *iustus ac tenax propositi vir*) is opposed to *mobilis* in Qu. Rosc. 49;

cf. Lael. 64 *constantem, stabilem.* *Constantia* (often coupled with *gravitas, fides* and the like) formed an important part of the character of the ideal Roman. Cic. complains (Flacc. 36) *nullam constantiam in Graecis hominibus esse.* —— **contingere**: here distinctly used of bad fortune, though the old traditional distinction between *contingere* on the one hand and *accidere, evenire* on the other required the word to be used of good fortune only. See n. on C. M. 8.

9. tribui: *i. e.* by people in general. —— **agnósco**: *sc. mihi tribui.* Nägelsbach Stilistik § 114 supplies *tanquam debitum mihi.* —— **facis amice**: a polite expression of thanks, like *bene facis* in Acad. 1, 25. —— **ut videris**: for the personal construction taking the place of the impersonal *ut videtur*, cf. Att. 5, 18, 2 *consiliis, ut videmur, bonis utimur.* The usage is somewhat uncommon. —— **nemo**: the Stoics attached such superhuman excellencies to their *σοφός* or *sapiens*, that doubts were often expressed whether such a person ever existed in the flesh. Cf. 18 and Tusc. 2, 51 *in quo vero erit perfecta sapientia, quem adhuc nos quidem vidimus neminem.* —— **si quisquam**: like the parenthesis commonly used in Greek, *εἰ καί τις ἄλλος.* So in Latin sometimes *si quisquam alius*, as in Brut. 126. —— **fili**: cf. C. M. 12 and 84. He was *praetor designatus* when he died and had served with distinction against Perseus, under L. Aemilius Paulus, whose daughter he had married (C. M. 15). On the form of the gen. see A. 40, *b*; G. 29, Rem. 1; H. 51, 5. —— **memineram Paulum, videram Gallum**: *sc. mortem filiorum ferre.* Where *memini* is thus used with the accus. of a person there is an ellipsis of an infinitive; cf. De Or. 3, 133 *meminerant illi Sextum Aelium; M'. vero Manilium nos etiam vidimus.* Paulus (Macedonicus) lost two sons, one immediately before, the other immediately after, his great triumph in 168 B. C. Cf. Fam. 4, 6, 1 *L. Paulus duos septem diebus* (*sc. filios amisit*); C. M. 68 with n. C. Sulpicius Gallus served as *tribunus militum* under Paulus, and was consul 157 B. C. He was famous as an astronomer, and was the first Roman who predicted an eclipse (Liv. 44, 37). —— **sed hi**: *sc. mortem filiorum*, or rather *talem casum tulerunt.* —— **in pueris**: literally 'in the case of boys'. Trans. 'but their sons were boys, while Cato's was, etc.'. —— **perfecto**: this seems here merely to mean 'adult' in opposition to *pueris.*

10. cave...ne...quidem: Cic. here treats *cave* as a negative verb. He frequently follows up negative words with negative, where in English we should use affirmative, expressions; thus *ne...quidem*

strengthens the negation. A. 209, *a*, 1; G. 444; H. 553, 2. For the subjunctive following *cave* see Roby, Gram. 1584, 1608; Kennedy, 197; A. 269, *a*, 3, 331, *f*, Rem.; G. 264, II., 548, 2; H. 489, 2), 499, 2. —— **huius facta, illius dicta**: on *huius* and *illius* see A. 102, *a*; G. 292, Rem. 1; H. 450, 2, n. In *facta...dicta* we have the contrast between the life of action, the πρακτικὸς βίος, which the Romans regarded as the only proper life for a man of rank, and the literary or contemplative life, the θεωρητικὸς βίος. The Romans looked on all departments of thought and literature as graceful adjuncts to a life of activity, but nothing more. Cf. n. on 16 *sumus otiosi*. —— **negem**: See G. 598, Rem. 2; H. 509, n. 2. —— **quam id recte**: see n. on C. M. 15. —— **viderint sapientes**: 'how far I am right is for the wise men to consider'. The literal rendering of *viderint* would be 'shall by and by consider', *viderint* being probably not perfect subjunctive, but future perfect indicative. Phrases like this are thoroughly discussed by Roby, Gr., Vol. II. Preface, p. cvi., and § 1593. By *sapientes* no doubt the Stoics are meant, who taught that men ought to be entirely unaffected by any emotions, either of pain or of pleasure. —— **moveor enim**: supply *desiderio* from the preceding sentence. —— **confirmare**: the sense is rather stronger than that of *affirmare*. —— **me ipse**: cf. n. on 5 *te ipse*. —— **decessu**: abl. of cause and time. —— **nihil mali etc.**: the same opinion is expounded at length in Tusc. Disp., Book 1; cf. especially § 111. See also the reflections on the death of Hortensius in Brut. § 5, and Fam. 5, 16, 4 *nihil mali et seq.* —— **incommodis**: the word is here pointedly contrasted with *mali*. There is no doubt a slight reference to the Stoic theory of προηγμένα and ἀποπροηγμένα. Although only virtue is *bonum*, only vice *malum* in the eyes of the Stoics, still there are such differences among other things as will incline the wise men to desire some of them (προηγμένα = *sumenda*) and reject others (ἀποπροηγμένα = *reicienda* or *incommoda*), his real happiness, however, remaining absolutely unaffected. Cf. Acad. 1, 36 and 37; see Zeller, Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, Ch. 10; Ueberweg, History of Philosophy, § 55; Ritter, Hist. of Ancient Philosophy, Book II. Ch. 5. —— **amicum...se**: to be construed with *amantis*.

11. cum illo...praeclare: 'who would say that his destiny has not been glorious'; lit. 'that he has not been dealt with (*i.e.* by the gods or fates) splendidly?' Cf. 15; also Academ. 2, 128 *quaeret noster sapiens ut vereatur temere opinari praeclareque agi secum putet*

si veri simile quod sit invenerit; Fam. 5, 18, 1; 4, 5, 2 *cogita quem ad modum adhuc fortuna nobiscum egerit;* 4, 5, 3; 4, 14, 1; 9, 24, 4; Acad. 2, 80; Verr. 3, 70; Sest. 51. —— **immortalitatem**: of the body is probably meant. —— **optare**: used here of a desire for the impossible; *sperare* would have implied that the fulfilment of the wish was possible. Cf. also n. on 18. —— **vellet**: for the tense see A. 308, *a*; G. 599, Rem. 1; H. 510, n. 2. —— **quod . . . esset**: an instance of the restrictive or defining subjunctive; see Kennedy, § 206, 3); Roby, 1692; A. 320, *a*; G. 634; H. 503, I. —— **iam**: strictly belongs to *habuerunt.* The word is often displaced, either, as here, to add emphasis to it (which it gains by being put close to *puero*) or to make the sentence or clause more euphonious. —— **puero**: for this and other references to Scipio's life see Intr. to C. M. pp. xxi,-xxiii. The appositive = a temporal clause, see G. 324; H. 363, 3, 2) —— **adulescens**: this, not *adolescens* (which is the participle of *adolesco*), is the correct spelling.

P. 5. — **factus consul**: some scholars wish, quite unnecessarily, to strike out the word *consul*, on the strength of passages like Mur. 18 *quaesturam una petiit et sum ego factus prior;* Dom. 52 *consulatum ei petere liceret, cum factus esset*... Cf. however Cic. Leg. Agr. 2, 3 *me esse unum ... qui consulatum petierim, cum primum licitum sit, consul factus sim, cum primum petierim.* —— **ante tempus**: see Intr. to C. M. p. xxii. *Tempus* here = the proper or regular time = *καιρόν*. The legal age was forty-three; Scipio was only thirty-seven. —— **sibi**: a *dativus commodi;* 'as regards himself'; so 34 *amicitiis;* 18 *sapienti.* —— **suo tempore**: a man is said to gain office *suo tempore* when he is elected to the office at the earliest age which the law allows. On *suo* see G. 295, Rem. 1; H. 449, 2. —— **sero**: because the Numantine war had already continued eight years and had proved disastrous to the Romans. See ref. above —— **duabus**: Carthage and Numantia, in B.C. 146 and 133. —— **non modo ... delevit**: it is of course inaccurate to speak of blotting out something in the future, but the expression has many parallels in every language. *Delere bellum* for the more usual *conficere* or *profligare b.* is found also in Nepos, Alcib. 8, 6. —— **facillimis**: 'most affable'. —— **de pietate ... bonitate**: it is impossible to give general rules for the insertion or omission of the preposition in the second and subsequent places. If, however, the preposition had been repeated here before *liberalitate, pietate,* and *bonitate,* each of these qualities would have

stood out with greater prominence and distinctness, would in fact have been more emphasized; cf. n. on 95 *inter*. Scipio gave a legacy to his mother after her divorce (*pietate*), bestowed it after her death upon his sisters (*liberalitate*), and gave to his elder brother property received from his father's estate (*bonitate*). —— **maerore**: *dolor* is grief as felt at the heart, *luctus* as expressed by material signs, in the dress, for instance, *maeror* as expressed by the condition or action of the sufferer, for example by the gloom on his countenance. The following is a striking passage — Att. 12, 28, 2 *maerorem minui, dolorem nec potui nec si possem vellem.* —— **quid**: adv. acc. —— **potuisset**: A. 310, *a*; G. 594, 3; H. 507, 3, n. 7. —— **memini... disserere**: n. on 2. Laelius and Scipio are two of the interlocutors in the Cato Maior, and Cic. strives artfully here to give an air of reality to the conversation he relates in that dialogue —— **viriditatem**: 'freshness'. For the metaphorical use of the word cf. Verg. Aen. 6, 304 *cruda deo viridisque senectus*; Tac. Agr. 29 *iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus*: Verg. Aen. 5, 295 *viridique iuventa.* —— **etiam nunc**: even in the best writers *nunc* occasionally goes with a past tense, as Cic. Verr. 3, 47 *quos ego campos antea nitidissimos vidissem, hos ita vastatos nunc videbam ut*... In that passage *tum* would have been ambiguous after *antea*, so in ours *tum* might have been referred by the reader to the time of the conversation between Scipio, Cato, and Laelius; so in Liv. 3, 19, 8. But often the motive is merely the desire to make the narrative vivid, as in Caes. B. G. 7, 62, 6 *incerto nunc etiam exitu... signa intulerunt*; cf. ib. 6, 40, 6; Cic. Cat. 1, 9; Sallust, Iug. 109, 3.

12. vita... gloria: Cic. means that some would look on Scipio's life as merely showing the effect of luck or chance, while others would think of the renown attending it and assume that Scipio deserved it. *Gloria* here implies *virtus*. *Fortuna* and *virtus* are the two important attributes of the Roman general; cf. Pro Balbo 9 (of Pompeius) *in quo uno ita summa fortuna cum summa virtute certavit ut plus homini quam deae tribueretur*; Fam. 10, 3, 2 *virtute duce, comite fortuna*; De Imp. Cn. Pom. 28. For the ablatives see Roby, 1210; A. 253; G. 398; H. 424. —— **accedere**: *sc. vel ad fortunam vel ad gloriam.* ——**moriendi sensum**: *moriendi* is the act or process of dying; *mortis* would have a different meaning and could not be substituted here. Cf. C. M. 74; Phil. 9, 13 *si quis est sensus in morte.* On Scipio's death see Intr. to C. M. p. xxii. —— **quo de genere mortis**:

i. e. death so sudden as his; for the form of expression cf. n. on 4. —— **vere**: there is a loose contrast with *difficile dictu est*, which implies *nihil veri potest dici.* —— **celeberrimos**: not 'most famous' but (literally) 'most attended by crowds', *i. e.* days on which Scipio was the centre of the popular interest. Cf. Reid's n. on Arch. 4. —— **clarissimum**: for the application of *clarus* to things as well as persons, Nägelsbach quotes Div. 2, 85; Att. 6, 1, 22 *clarissimi iuris iurandi.* Notice the emphasis given by the repetition of *diem* from *diebus.* —— **reductus est**: it was the custom in times of excitement for leading statesmen to be escorted to the senate-house from their homes and back again by their admirers. For the escort away from home *deducere* is generally used, for the escort homewards *reducere.* See C. M. 63, where the two words occur together, as they do in Val. Max. 2, 1, 9. For the mood see A. 336, *b*; G. 630, Rem. 1; H. 524, 2, 2). —— **ad vesperum**: with the prepositions *ad*, *sub*, *in*, the accusative of *vesper* is generally used and not that of *vespera.* —— **populo Romano**: simply = *civibus*, the burgesses, as opposed to the *socii* and *Latini.* —— **sociis et Latinis**: these two words must be taken together as forming one member of the enumeration, parallel with *patribus conscriptis* and *populo Romano.* When an enumeration consists of only two members Cicero, except in certain special cases, never omits the copula; when there are three or more members, he either puts *et* before each member after the first or leaves it out altogether. In our passage, if *sociis* and *Latinis* had each of them been entitled to rank separately in the enumeration, it would have been necessary to strike out *et.* Madvig has most thoroughly discussed this matter in a note on Fin. 4, 56 and in Opuscula 1, p. 333 *seq.* The practice of most other writers of the best period agrees on the whole with that of Cicero in this respect. Cf. n. on 84. —— **superos ... deos ... inferos**: the word *deos* is purposely not placed immediately after *superos*, in order to prevent the reader from understanding *inferos* to mean *inferos deos.* With this arrangement *superos ... deos* means, as Seyffert explains it, *superi, qui dei sunt.*

13. nuper: not quite accurate (cf. 24, n. on C. M. 61, also on *modo* in 6) inasmuch as the knowledge of the Greek speculations which denied the soul's existence after death had begun to spread among the educated classes at Rome long before Scipio's death. The reference is chiefly, but not solely, to the Epicureans. Some of the Peripatetics and some also of the new Academics held or at least sometimes

advocated the same views. —— **mortuis ... iura**: the principal 'reverent rites' paid to the dead are mentioned in Cic. Leg. 2, 55 *seq.*; cf. especially 57 *multa religiosa iura.* The passage resembles Tusc. 1, 26 *seq.* —— **si ... arbitrarentur**: cf. Tusc. 1, 27. For the imperfect in *arbitrarentur* and *haereret*, modern feeling would require the pluperfect. Cic. for the moment realizes the past as present, and so looks on the condition as not wholly past but still continuing. The usage is like the substitution of the present for the past, for the sake of vividness, in historical narratives. Often both protasis and apodosis contain a verb in the imperfect where we should expect the pluperfect (*e.g.* Verr. 5, 89; Sest. 63); but it does not often happen that the apodosis has a verb in the pluperfect, while the verb in the protasis stands in the imperfect, as in C. M. 19 *nisi essent...appellassent.* Irregularities of the same sort are common in Greek conditional sentences. A. 308, *a*; G. 599, Rem. 1; H. 510, n. 2. —— **nihil**: adv. acc. with *pertinere*; supply some word referring to *iura* above. —— **ad eos pertinere**: cf. Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 1, 10, 3 *δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναί τι τῷ τεθνεῶτι καὶ κακὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν.* —— **fuerunt**: = *vixerunt.* See n. on C. M. 21 *sunt.* The followers of Pythagoras are meant. —— **nunc quidem**: 'now, I admit'; for the concessive use of *quidem* cf. 74. —— **tum**: some adversative particle (corresponding to *sed autem vero* or the like) would be inserted in any modern language. This adversative asyndeton is especially common in Caesar, as in B. G. 1, 18, 1 *celeriter consilium dimittit, Liscum retinet;* cf. 5, 55, 59, 62.

P. 6. — **vel eius**: in C. M. 78 Cic. appeals just as he does here to the Pythagoreans and to Socrates as authorities for the immortality of the soul. —— **qui**: *sc. dicebat.* —— **non**: supply *quotiens de hac re diceret.* —— **tum hoc tum illud**: the later Academics, particularly Arcesilas and Carneades, professing to follow Socrates, made a practice of arguing on both sides of every question, and declared that certainty was unattainable, though probable conclusions might be formed. They prided themselves on not being obliged to support dogmatically any set of views; while others were in bondage to doctrines, they only were free to put forward 'now this now that'. Cf. Cicero's Academica *passim*, but particularly 2, 134 *tum hoc mihi probabilius, tum illud videtur;* 2, 121 *modo hoc modo illud probabilius videtur;* N. D. 1, 47 *Cotta meus modo hoc modo illud.* Cf. Intr. to C. M. p. ii. —— **ut in plerisque**: cf. n. on 50 *similium sui;* n.

on C. M. 3 *ceteris.* —— **idem semper, animos etc.**: Cic. is thinking of Socrates as he appears in the dialogues of Plato, particularly in the Phaedo, Apology, Phaedrus, and Timaeus. The principal arguments in favor of the soul's immortality which are put into Socrates' mouth in the Phaedo are many times reproduced by Cicero, especially in Tusc. 1, Somn. Scip. and Cato Maior. In the words *esse divinos* and *reditum in caelum patere* Cic. recalls those arguments in favor of the soul's pre-natal existence which the Platonic Socrates usually joins with his arguments for the soul's life after the death of the body. —— **ex corpore**: used for *corporibus*, since in both Greek and Latin, when a number of persons are mentioned and then some one thing common to them all, that thing is often put into the singular, where our idiom would require the plural. Cf. Tusc. 1, 40 *animos, cum e corpore excesserint;* ib. 1, 72 *animorum e corpore excedentium;* C. M. 81; on the other hand, C. M. 80 *animos, dum in corporibus essent* etc. —— **optimoque ... expeditissimum**: cf. Tusc. 1, 40 *seq.*; also Plato, Phaedo 114 B. On the superlative with *quisque* see A. 93, *c*; G. 305; H. 458, 1.

14. praesagiret: on this word cf. Cic. Div. 1, 65 *sagire enim sentire acute est: ex quo sagae anus quia multum scire volunt, et sagaces dicti canes. Is igitur qui ante sagit quam oblata res est dicitur praesagire, id est, futura ante scire.* —— **Philus**: see Introd. p. v. —— **Manilius**: see Introd. p. v. —— **triduum disseruit**: the discourse is represented by Cicero's work *De Re Publica.* —— **de re publica**: 'concerning the commonwealth', *i. e.* the ideal or best form of commonwealth. —— **extremum**: this neuter adj. is used as a noun frequently by Cic. as below, 20; Div. 2, 91 and 103; also by Lucr. 1, 960, Livy, Tacitus, etc. —— **fuit ... de**: 'treated of'. —— **animorum**: the plural where we use the singular, 'the soul', in the abstract sense. *Immortalitas animorum* also occurs in C. M. 78 where see n., Leg. 2, 68; *aeternitas animorum* in Tusc. 1, 80. —— **quae**: as only the last book of the *De Re Publica* (comprising the *Somnium Scipionis*) discussed the immortality of the soul, the neuter *quae* refers not to the whole work, but merely to the *extremum*. *Quod* would have been correct but inelegant. *Quae* is a sort of explanation of *extremum* 'the conclusion, I mean such matters as'. For the plural relative referred to a singular antecedent cf. the not uncommon phrases *ex eo genere quae* (Fin. 3, 70) and *ex eo numero qui* with plural verb (Arch. 31). The usage is frequently found in Greek, as Plato, Rep. 554

A θησαυροποιὸς ἀνὴρ, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ τὸ πλῆθος. A. 199, *b*; G. 616, 3, I; H. 445, 5. —— **quiete**: = *somno*, a somewhat poetical usage, but occurring quite frequently in Cicero. —— **visum**: here the neut. participle used as noun, not the accus. of *visus, ūs.* —— **Africano**: *sc. maiore.* —— **id si ita est, ut**: 'if the truth really is, I mean that'. For the explanatory *ut* cf. 70; also the expression *hoc ita necesse est ut.* —— **in morte**: 'upon death'; *i. e.* immediately after death; cf. Lucr. 1, 111 *aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendumst, i. e.* punishments ensuing upon or after death. —— **facillime evolet**: cf. *reditum expeditissimum* above. *Volare* and its compounds *ad- in- e- praetervolare*, with *volitare* are particularly favorite words with Cic.; see many exx. in Nägelsbach, Stilistik § 132, 2. *Evolo* implies very rapid and sudden motion; cf. Brut. 272 *tantos processus faciebat ut evolare, non excurrere videretur;* De Or. 2, 209. —— **e custodia**: cf. Somn. Scip. 14 *ei vivunt qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt;* Tusc. 1, 75 *cum illuc ex his vinclis emissi feremur, minus tardabitur cursus animorum;* so ib. 1, 118; De Or. 2, 22. —— **cui censemus**: the form of the question is like that in 24 *quid arbitramur* etc. *Censetis* would have been more usual. Cf. Fin. 5, 50 *quem enim ardorem studi censetis fuisse in Archimede?* —— **maerere ... eventu**: if the ablative follows *doleo, maereo,* the occurrence is regarded as the occasion for the expression of the sorrow; if the accusative, then as the object of the emotion. *Eventu* here = *fato,* as in Verg. Aen. 11, 758 *ducis exemplum eventumque secuti,* and often in Livy and Caesar. —— **illa**: = *haec* of 13. —— **sensu enim amisso** etc.: the idea is followed out in Tusc. 1, 87 *seq.* —— **laetabitur**: 'will exult'; *laetari* is stronger than *gaudere.*

15. actum optime est: n. on 11. —— **fuerat**: the pluperfect stands here where the perfect *fuit* or imperfect *erat* would have been more usual; *fuerat aequius* implies 'it had always been in our eyes more reasonable to expect'. The substitution is quite common in Latin comedy, as Plaut. Trin. 119 *ei rei operam dare te fuerat aliquanto aequius;* Terent. Adelph. 685 *virginem quam te non ius fuerat tangere.* After *introieram, in vitam* must be supplied from *de vita* below. —— **videar**: *sc. mihi ipse videar.* —— **quocum**: n. on 2. —— **publica re**: usages like this show that the phrase *res publica* represented to the Romans two words, not one compound word. Cf. Fam. 1, 9, 12 *res ipsa publica;* ib. 1, 8, 4 *rei totius publicae;* Lael. 64 *reque publica; res privatae* and *res publica* are often contrasted as

in Att. 9, 7, 5; ib. 1, 18, 1. Cf. n. on 42. —— **vis**: 'essence'. —— **voluntatum... consensio**: 'the fullest agreement in policy, taste, and opinion'. The word *voluntas* in Cic. frequently means inclination in politics. For the definition of friendship here given cf. 92; also 61 and n. on 20 *omnium... consensio*. —— **commemoravit**: = *praedicavit*, not *recordatus est*; see n. on C. M. 38. —— **falsa praesertim**: briefly put for *praesertim cum falsa sit*; cf. Off. 1, 137 *deforme est de se ipsum praedicare, falsa praesertim*; Tusc. 5, 19 *propriis argumentis tractanda quaeque res est, tanta praesertim*. H. 442. —— **quam quod spero**: if the former construction had been carried on we should have had *quam spes fore* etc. The change, however, is of a sort common with Cicero, as Fin. 3, 25 *sapientia enim et animi magnitudinem complectitur et iustitiam, et ut omnia quae homini accidant infra se esse iudicet*.

P. 7. — **cordi**: 'agreeable'; for a full discussion of the predicative dative and a list of examples see Roby's Gram., Pref. to Vol. 2, pp. xxv–lv. The name 'predicative' seems unsuitable here, for *cordi* is the one dative on the list with regard to which the substitution of the nominative (in the predicative sense) is inconceivable. Cf. 43 *curae*; 70 *honori*. See also A. 233, and foot-note; G. 350; H. 390, I. —— **vix tria** etc.: so Fin. 1, 65 *quod quam magnum sit, fictae veterum fabulae declarant in quibus tam multis tamque variis, ab ultima antiquitate repetitis, tria vix amicorum paria reperiuntur, ut ad Orestem pervenias profectus a Theseo*. The three pairs are Theseus and Pirithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades. The friendship of a fourth pair (Damon and Phintias, of whom perhaps Cic. was thinking in our passage), is commented on in Off. 3, 45; cf. Fin. 2, 79. —— **quo in genere**: *sc. amicitiarum*; see n. on C. M. 4. —— **sperare videor... fore**: this clause simply repeats the sense of the words *amicitiae... fore* above. *Videor* = *mihi videor*.

16. ita necesse est: the *ita* is not pleonastic in phrases of this sort, though often so regarded. The sense here is *istuc necesse est, et eo modo quo tu dicis necesse esse*. Cf. Arch. 2 *hoc ita dici*. A number of similar passages are quoted by Madvig on Fin. 2, 17. So in Plato, Philebus 20 D ἐπειδὴ τοῦθ' οὕτως εἶπες —— **sumus otiosi**: the same reason for the discourse is given in Fin. 1, 14 *quoniam nacti te sumus otiosum*. According to Roman feeling it was not considered proper for statesmen to discuss philosophical questions except as a relaxation from more serious business. Cf. the exordia of Academica

I and II and of Fin. III, also n. on Lael. 10 *huius facta*.—— **pergratum**: cf. C. M. 6; Att. I, 20, 7. —— **soles**: *sc. respondere.* —— **ceteris**: cf. n. on 7 *reliqua.* —— **disputaris**: cf. n. on I. —— **qualem existimes, quae ... des**: these two clauses are explanatory of *quid.* Taking with them the words *de amicitia quid sentias* the whole may be freely rendered, 'your opinion concerning the theory and practice of friendship'. In cc. V–VII, which correspond to *qualem existimes*, Laelius gives his view of the nature and value of friendship; in cc. XI–XXVI he lays down practical rules and maxims concerning it. —— **mihi vero**: this form of emphatic assent is common in Cicero's dialogues; *e.g.* Academica I, 14; ib. 25; ib. 41. —— **antevertit**: lit. 'turned in front', or 'thrust in front', *i. e.* his request or his speech. Here trans. 'anticipated me'. —— **gratum admodum**: =*pergratum.*

THE DISCOURSE OF LAELIUS ON FRIENDSHIP. §§ 17–104.

(1) *Remarks upon the Nature and Value of Friendship.* 17–25.

For summary see Introd. p. ix.

17. non gravarer: 'would raise no objection'; cf. Cluent. 69 *primo gravari coepit, quod* ... —— **praeclara res**: cf. 4 *digna mihi res visa est; praeclara ... otiosi*, chiasmus. —— **quis ego** etc.: for the almost tautological form of the question cf. Acad. 2, 32 *nec vero satis constituere possum quod sit eorum consilium aut quid sibi velint;* Nepos, Dat. 6, 6 *cum quid ageretur aut quare fieret ignorarent.* For the sense, cf. Fam. 9, 18, 3 *ipsa illa si quae fuit in me facultas orationis;* Arch. 13 *oratio et facultas.* The word *facultas* implies readiness acquired by practice. —— **doctorum**: here philosophers by profession as in 21; cf. the words below, *eis qui ista profitentur.* —— **eaque**: Nauck rightly remarks that *Graecorum* is a substantive and not merely an epithet of *doctorum;* otherwise Cic. would have written *eorumque* for *eaque. Eaque* = καὶ ταῦτα; see n. on 4 *et eorum.* —— **ut eis ... subito**: the practice belonged first to the sophists and rhetoricians, then to the philosophers of the New Academy. Cf. Fin. 2, 1 *sophistae ... quorum e numero primus est ausus Leontinus Gorgias in conventu poscere quaestionem, id est iubere dicere qua de re quis vellet audire. Audax negotium, dicerem impudens, nisi hoc institutum postea translatum ad nostros philosophos esset;*

De Or. 1, 102; ib. 3, 127. —— **quamvis subito**: = *tam subito quam vis.* —— **magnum opus est**: so in De Or. 1, 103 Cicero says of Gorgias *permagnum quidem suscipere ac profiteri videbatur.* For *magnum opus* = a great task, cf. Academ. 2, 121; Tusc. 3, 79 and 84; Orat. 75. —— **quae ... possunt**: this refers to Fannius' words above *de amicitia disputaris.* There is a contrast between *disputari* and *hortari*; Laelius at first declares himself unable to give a scientific and philosophical discussion of friendship; he can only give some practical directions concerning it. —— **censeo petatis**: *petatis* is directly dependent on *censeo, ut* being suppressed, as it often is with *curo, caveo, sinere, hortari,* and many other verbs; cf. n. on 10 *cave.* —— **anteponatis** etc.: for the sense cf. 104. —— **nihil est enim**: note *enim*, third word in the clause; had it stood second *est* would not have been so emphatic. —— **tam naturae aptum**: the phrases *naturae aptus, ad naturam aptus* are common in Cic. (as Fin. 4, 46; Off. 1, 100) and are of Stoic origin. The Stoics defined virtue as being τῇ φύσει ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν, *naturae convenienter vivere.* Cf. below 19 *naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem.* —— **vel secundas vel adversas**: so Cic. says of literature (Arch. 16) *secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent.*

18. nisi in bonis: 'except in the case of good men'. Cf. 65, where *inter bonos* corresponds to *in bonis* here. —— **neque ... reseco**: 'nor do I probe the question to its roots', *i. e.* the question whether only good men can be friends. The Stoics had declared that only perfect men (*sapientes*, σοφοί or σπουδαῖοι = *boni*, since none but the σοφός is σπουδαῖος) could be friends. So Diog. Laert. 7, 124 τὴν φιλίαν ἐν μόνοις τοῖς σπουδαίοις εἶναι λέγουσι, and Aristotle Eth. Nic. 8 and 9 *passim*; also Socrates in Xen. Mem. 2, 6, 20. The phrase *ad vivum resecare*, literally 'to cut back to the quick', is here identical in meaning with the *subtilius disserere* that follows, and with the *subtilius quaerere* of 7. —— **sed ad** etc.: *sc. disserunt.* —— **sit ita sane**: this is a common *formula aegre concedentis.* So Academ. 2, 84 *ne sit sane;* ib. 2, 105 *sint falsa sane.* —— **eam ... interpretantur**: *sc. esse* (cf. 50, 64); 'they understand wisdom to be a thing which ...'; *eam* is by attraction for *id.* A. 195, *d*; G. 202, Rem. 5; H. 445, 4. **nemo**: cf. 7 and 9. The leading Greek Stoic philosophers hardly ever ventured to point out any actual person as having attained to wisdom. Posidonius (Diog. 7, 94) seems to have allowed that Socrates, Diogenes, and Antisthenes had made some advance towards

it. Seneca allows Cato the younger to have been really *sapiens*. —— **optantur**: a philosopher who propounds wild theories is often said by Cicero *optare*; cf. Acad. 2, 121 *somnia Democriti non docentis sed optantis*; Tusc. 2, 30 *optare hoc quidem est, non docere*; N. D. 1, 19 *optata magis quam inventa*; Leg. Agr. 1, 1 *cogitata sapientium an optata furiosorum*. Cf. n. on 11.

P. 8. — C. Fabricium: C. Fabricius Luscinus, consul in 282 and 278 and censor in 275 B. C., commanded against Pyrrhus, and was famed for his integrity. One of Pyrrhus' suite is said to have made an offer to Fabricius to poison the king; Fabricius merely sent to inform the king that there was a plot against his life. —— **M'. Curium**: see n. on C. M. 15 *Fabricii*. —— **Ti. Coruncanium**: the close friend of Dentatus (see 39); commanded with distinction against the Etruscans in 280 B. C.; in C. M. 27 he is mentioned as one of those *quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia*. —— **iudicabant**: *esse* omitted as with *interpretantur* above. —— **normam**: 'standard'. —— **sibi habeant**: cf. the formal expression used by a Roman husband in divorcing his wife — *tuas res tibi habeto*. —— **invidiosum et obscurum**: 'arrogant and unintelligible'. —— **concedant ut**: when *concedere* means to give permission to do something it regularly takes *ut* with subjunctive, but when it means to admit a fact it is regularly followed by the accusative with infinitive. The subjoined passage shows the distinction; Rosc. Am. 54 *concedo tibi ut ea praetereas quae, cum taces, nulla esse concedis*. Sometimes, however, Cicero substitutes the subjunctive construction for the infinitive (but not *vice versa*) as in our passage and Fin. 5, 78 *si Stoicis concedis ut virtus sola vitam efficiat beatam*. In such passages the effect of the admission is rather looked to than the admission itself. The meaning here is 'let them make such an admission as to bring it about that these were good men'. —— **sapienti**: a *dativus commodi*.

19. pingui Minerva: 'with our gross wits'. Another form of the proverb is *crassa Minerva*; cf. also Cic. Off. 1, 110 *invita Minerva*; Hor. A. P. 385. *Minerva* in these phrases stands for 'wits' or 'intellect'. The expressions *ut aiunt* (22), *quod aiunt*, or *aiunt* simply (Hor. Sat. 2, 2, 64), also *id quod aiunt* (Terent. Phorm. 506), *ut dicitur* (Lael. 97 and 101), and *quod dicitur* (67) are often inserted parenthetically (like τὸ λεγόμενον) to indicate a proverb. —— **fides ... liberalitas**: these words must be taken in two pairs with a pause

between the two (*i. e.* after *integritas*), in accordance with a fashion exceedingly common in Cicero. *Fides* and *integritas*, loyalty and uprightness, are cognate qualities, as are *aequitas* and *liberalitas*, reasonableness (or fairness) and generosity. Cf. Sest. 1 *eos qui omnia divina et humana violarint vexarint perturbarint everterint*, where the words *violarint vexarint* go together and refer to *divina*, while the last two words refer to *humana*. Other examples will be found in Mayor's n. on Phil. 2, 89. —— **cupiditas libido audacia**: 'passion, caprice, temerity'. Cic. generally (*e. g.* Tusc. 1, 20) translates ἐπιθυμία by *cupiditas* or *cupiditates*. He always uses *audacia* in a bad sense; cf. De Invent. 2, 165 *audacia ... vitium est*. Its use in a good sense is very rare in other authors. —— **constantia**: cf. n. on 8 *constanti homini*. —— **ut**: = *quales*. —— **naturam ... ducem**: cf. n. on 17. The sentiment is an echo of Stoicism. The Stoics all said that the true life was life according to nature, but they were not agreed as to the meaning of the word nature. Some took it to mean the natural constitution of man; others the constitution of the universe, from which by contemplation the wise man drew his rules of life. With the words of Cicero here cf. Arch. 15 *ego multos* etc. —— **sic**: the adverb here takes the place of an object to *perspicere*, such as *tale aliquid*. —— **mihi perspicere videor**: a modest way of saying *perspicio*. —— **ita**: 'under this condition'; so 1; Tusc. 3, 59 *ea lege nos esse natos ut ...* —— **societas**: this is the doctrine of Aristotle in his Politics (1, 1 φύσει ἄνθρωπος πολιτικὸν ζῷον), which Cicero repeats and expands in many passages. Cf. especially Off. 1, 50 and 51, where the different grades of social union are set forth as here; also Acad. 1, 21; Leg. 1, 23 and 61; Fin. 3, 66 and 5, 66. On the doctrine that social and political organization is not the result of agreement or invention, but has its origin in the essential elements of man's nature, see Woolsey, Political Science, Part 2, Ch. 2, especially § 70. —— **ut ... accederet**: *sc. nobis*, *nos* or *ad nos* (all three constructions being found with *proxime accedere* in Cicero). Cf. Off. 1, 50 *optime societas hominum coniunctioque servabitur, si ut quisque erit coniunctissimus, ita in eum benignitatis plurimum conferetur*; also for *ut quisque* cf. Verr. 4, 143; Off. 1, 65; and below, 26, 29, 46. —— **alieni**: 'strangers', whether of our own or of any other country. Observe that *alienus* is never used in good Latin with the sense of the English 'alien'. —— **natura ipsa**: *i. e.* nature and nature only; her efforts not having been seconded by those of men. Cf. Arch.

15 *naturae ipsius habitu.* —— **ea**: *sc. amicitia*, not *natura ; illa* would have been clearer and more usual. —— **hoc**: = *hac re;* 'herein'. —— **propinquitati**: 'relationship', including the relationship of citizen to citizen as well as that of the members of a family one to another. —— **non potest**: Latin idiom requires the repetition of the verb *potest* in the negative clause, where English idiom would omit it. —— **propinquitatis**: for the omitted adversative particle (*sed* or the like) cf. n. on 5 *Laelium ... putes.*

20. res: as in 17. —— **duos**: while *duo* for *duos* is classical (Roby, Vol. 1, p. 442; Kennedy, § 33, V. 4)), the weight of MSS. evidence is in favor of *duos* as the Ciceronian form. —— **iungeretur**: on the tense see A. 287, *a*; G. 511, Rem. 2; H. 495, I. —— **enim**: the conditions of *amicitia* here given are so difficult of fulfilment that they account for the rarity of *caritas* (as above *inter duos aut paucos*), which is the kernel of friendship. —— **omnium ... consensio**: in 15 it is said that the whole pith (*omnis vis*) of friendship lies in the *consensio voluntatum studiorum sententiarum.* In the present passage the objects towards which the *voluntates, studia*, and *sententiae* are to be directed are so described as to include all things in heaven and earth. The division of all things into *res divinae* and *res humanae* belonged to everyday talk and has no reference to any philosophical system. Cf. the title of Varro's greatest work, *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum;* also Iustin. Inst. 1, 1, 1, definition of *iurisprudentia, divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia, iusti atque iniusti scientia.* Compare with this definition of friendship Aristotle, Rhet. 2, 4 ἔστω δὴ τὸ φιλεῖν τὸ βούλεσθαί τινι ἃ οἴεται ἀγαθά, ἐκείνου ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ μὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν πρακτικὸν εἶναι τούτων. Cf. Eth. Nic. 2, 7, 13. Also Cic. Invent. 2, 166 *amicitia, voluntas erga aliquem rerum bonarum illius ipsius causa quem diligit cum eius pari voluntate;* Planc. 5 *vetus est lex illa iustae veraeque amicitiae ut idem amici semper velint, nec est ullum certius amicitiae vinculum quam consensus et societas consiliorum et voluntatum;* Sallust, Cat. 20 *idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.* Neither in Eth. Nic. Books 8 and 9, nor in Plato's Lysis, is any very exact definition of friendship attempted. —— **benevolentia et caritate**: 'kindliness and affection'. These words are often thus joined, as in Sest. 6; Phil. 2, 107 and 112; Off. 1, 54. Cf. 32 *benevolentiae caritatem. Cum benevolentia et caritate* qualify *consensio.* —— **haud scio an**: in Cic. and the best writers this phrase is affirmative.

meaning 'probably'; in later writers negative, with the sense 'probably not'. See Roby, 2256; A. 210, *f*, Rem.; G. 459, Rem.; H. 529, 3, n. 2. —— **excepta ... datum**: cf. Plato, Timaeus 47 B φιλοσοφίας γένος, οὗ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν οὔτ' ἦλθεν οὔθ' ἥξει ποτὲ τῷ θνητῷ γένει δωρηθὲν ἐκ θεῶν, which Cic. thus turns in his translation, at the end of the fragment of it which is preserved: *quo bono nullum optabilius nullum praestantius neque datum est mortalium generi deorum concessu atque munere neque dabitur.* Cic. frequently imitates the passage, as below, 47; Academica 1, 7; Tusc. 1, 64; Leg. 1, 58. —— **divitias alii** etc.: cf. closely 86. —— **extremum**: *extremum* here = *finis*, in the sense of *finis bonorum* or *summum bonum.* The passage is aimed a Epicurus and his followers who *pecudis et hominis idem bonum censen* (Academ. 1, 6).

P. 9. — caduca et incerta: 'fleeting and unstable'; cf. De Dom. 146 *caduca semper et mobilia.* —— **illi**: *sc. faciunt. Illi*, the Stoics and Peripatetics. —— **nec sine** etc.: cf. 18 *nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse.* This matter is touched on by Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 8, 1, 7; ib. 8, 2, 3 *seq.* —— **esse**: emphatic; 'exist'.

21. iam: = 'to proceed', as often. —— **consuetudine sermonis**: cf. Verr. 4, 109 *cotidiana dicendi consuetudine.* —— **nec ... metiamur**: not intended to contrast strongly with the first part of the sentence, otherwise *non* would have been written for *nec* and *eam* omitted. The clause is really explanatory = *non metientes.* For the construction of *metiri* cf. n. on 97, and for the expression μετρεῖν τι τινι in Aristotle's Ethics. —— **magnificentia**: cf. Plato Symp. 210 D καλοὺς λόγους καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς. So *magnificum* in 32. —— **virosque**: "If a negative proposition is followed by an affirmative, in which the same thought is expressed or continued, *que*, *et* or *ac* is employed in Latin where in English we use 'but'". Madvig, 433, Obs. 2; cf. Roby, 2200. —— **Paulos** etc.: the plural in the sense of 'men like P.' etc. For *Paulus*, cf. 9; for Gallus 9 and 10; for Philus 14. —— **omnino ... reperiuntur**: cf. 9, 18, n. on *nemo.*

22. opportunitates: the word *opportunitas* is 'opportuneness' rather than 'opportunity'. To say that friendship has 'opportunenesses' is equivalent to saying that it shows the characteristic of 'opportuneness' on many occasions. Cicero uses the plural of abstract nouns like this more frequently than any other author. Cf. A. 75, *c*; G. 195, Rem. 5; H. 130, 2. —— **vix queo**: Cic. always says *non queo* or *vix queo*, never *nequeo*, though he uses other parts

of the verb *nequire*. —— **qui**: see n. on C. M. 4, p. 3. —— **vita vitalis**: it is not known to what work of Ennius the quotation belongs. The words are an imitation of *βίος βιωτός*. In his own style, Cic. would have written *vita potest esse ulla*; cf. 86 *vitam esse nullam* = *βίον εἶναι ἀβίωτον*. —— **quae . . . conquiescit**: 'which does not find peace in an interchange of kindness with a friend'. Cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 9, 9, 3. —— **quid dulcius**: the omission of both *enim* and *est* gives an abrupt emphasis to the question; so in 55, 30, 40, 25, 99. —— **quicum**: cf. n. on 2 *quocum*. For the sense of this passage Seyffert well compares Seneca de Tranquill. Animi c. 7 *quantum bonum est ubi sunt praeparata pectora in quae tuto secretum omne descendat, quorum conscientiam minus quam tuam timeas, quorum sermo sollicitudinem leniat, sententia consilium expediat, hilaritas tristitiam dissipet, conspectus ipse delectet*. —— **qui**: lit. 'what sort of?' *Quis* would have meant merely 'what?' *Tantus* is here only a rhetorical variation for *magnus*, and as *tantus* implies *quantus* there is really an ellipsis. For the context cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 9, 9, 2. —— **fructus**: 'enjoyment'. —— **ac**: see A. 156, *a*; G. 646; H. 554, I. 2, n. —— **sine eo**: takes the place of a conditional clause. See A. 310; G. 594, 3; H. 507, 3, n. 7. —— **quae expetuntur**: 'which are objects of desire'. Cic. commonly uses *expetere, expetenda* to represent the Greek *αἱρεῖν, αἱρετά*, which are technical terms common to all the later Greek philosophical schools. Anything which forms part of the *summum bonum* is *αἱρετόν*. Cf. 46 *expetendas*; 80 *expetita*. —— **valetudo**: = here the *bona v.* of 20; cf. n. on 8. —— **amicitia**: adversative asyndeton. —— **loco**: perhaps abl. of separation with *excluditur*. *Nullo loco* may however have an adverbial sense equivalent to that of *nusquam*. The adverb *praesto* in the preceding clause makes this probable, and the probability is increased by *pluribus locis* below. A. 258, *f*; G. 385, Rem.; H. 425, 2. —— **ut aiunt**: n. on 19. Fire and water were fixed upon as the first necessaries of life in the *aqua et igni interdictio*, which was equivalent to a sentence of exile. Cf. Off. 1, 52 *ex quo sunt illa communia* (*officia*), *non prohibere aqua profluente, pati ab igne ignem capere si qui velit*; Iustiniani Inst. 1, 16, 2; Gaii Inst. 1, 161. —— **quae . . . prodest**: a sidelong protest against the theory (18) that only the *σοφοί* are capable of friendship. —— **delectat et prodest**: so Hor. A. P. 333 *aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae*. —— **vera et perfecta**: 'pure and faultless'; the *τελεία φιλία* of Aristotle (Eth. Nic. 8, 6, 2) also *ἡ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλία*

(ib. 8, 5, 3) and **ἀληθὴς φιλία** in Plato, Lysis 214 D; cf. *vera amicitia* in 23, 58. —— **pauci**: cf. 15. For the use with *qui* see A. 216, *e*; G. 368, Rem. 2; H 397, 2, n. —— **partiens communicansque**: the two participles differ very little in meaning — no more widely than 'dividing' and 'sharing' in English. In *partiens* the notion of mere division is more prominent, in *communicans* the notion of comradeship or partnership; cf. 24 *in periculis ... communicandis*.

P. 10. — 23. commoditates: very little different in sense from *opportunitates* in 22. *Opportunitas* expresses rather the idea of exceptional appropriateness, *commoditas* rather the characteristic of usefulness as an ordinary fact. —— **cum ... contineat — tum ... praestat**: the normal construction with *cum ... tum* is for both clauses to have the same verb, or for the verbs (if different) in both clauses to be in the same mood and tense. The reason for the variation here is the desire to point out that the fact contained in the clause *cum ... contineat* is one which has been already mentioned and disposed of. 'Seeing that friendship furnishes very many and important advantages ...'. *Continet* would have been appropriate had the fact now been mentioned for the first time. Cf. Madvig, 358, Obs. 3; A. 326, *b*; G. 589; H. 521, 2, 2), n. 1. —— **illa ... omnibus**: *illa*, abl., *sc. commoditate*; cf. 19 *hoc praestat*; *omnibus = omnibus rebus*, the verbs *praestat* and *praelucet* having the same subject, *amicitia*. Many editors, in order to avoid the exceptional *omnibus = omnibus rebus*, make *illa* (*sc. commoditas*) subject to *praestat* so that *omnibus = o. commoditatibus*, while *praelucet* has for its subject *amicitia*. The neuter *omnibus* used as substantive, though rare, is well attested; cf. N. D. 2, 36; 2, 133; De Fato 14; Liv. 1, 45; 3, 23. —— **spem praelucet**: the verb *praelucere* is rare even in poetry and very rare in prose. The transitive use ('holds up the light of hope') may perhaps be allowed here, though the only passages quoted for it by the editors and dictionaries are Auson. Idyll. 4, 95 *p. lumen*, and Plaut. Casina 1, 30 *p. facem*. Plin. Nat. Hist. 32, 141 has *praeluceat baculum*, *i. e.* 'sets on fire'. —— **verum amicum**: the word *verus* is to be taken in a less strict sense than in 22 *vera amicitia*. —— **exemplar aliquod**: Seyffert well quotes here the Magna Moralia 2, 15. Cf. also 80. —— **absentes adsunt** etc: intended contradiction in terms, oxymoron; cf. Mil. 97 *gloriam: esse hanc unam quae efficeret ut absentes adessemus, mortui viveremus*, where edd. quote the epigram of Simonides on the heroes of Thermopylae — **οὐδὲ τεθνᾶσι**

σφ' ἀρετὴ καθύπερθε κυδαίνουσ' ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ 'Αΐδεω
...es abundant etc.: St. Paul, Corinth. 2, 6, 10 'As having ...d yet possessing all things'; ib. 6, 9 'As dying and behold, —— difficilius dictu: 'a harder saying'. The Latin like ...h phrase is inaccurate, since the statement is not hard to ...t hard to believe. Cf. Mark 2, 9 'Whether is it *easier to* ... sick of the palsy...' Cic. often has *incredibile dictu;* cf. ... 12 *difficile ad fidem est affirmare.* —— **tantus eos honos**: ...eparation of *tantus* from *honos* cf. n. on C. M. 15 *quam sit* —— **ex quo**: the antecedent of *quo* is not *desiderium*, but the preceding clause; thus *ex quo = ex qua re.* —— **beata... ...lis**: chiasmus. —— **laudabilis**: because the survivors do ...n remembering their friends. —— **rerum natura**: *i. e.* the ...se. —— **benevolentiae coniunctionem**: 'the bond of good-... *benevolentia*, the more diffused and weaker form of affection, ...e contrasted with *amicitia*, its more concentrated and intense ... *Benevolentia* here is Aristotle's ὁμόνοια in Eth. Nic. 9, c. 6. ... **ne...quidem**: 'no, nor'; simply a stronger *nec.* —— **id**: ex-...ned by the clause *quanta...sit.* —— **minus**: here, and often, ...rcely different in sense from *non.* —— **vis amicitiae**: cf. 15. —— ...cipi: a stronger word than *intellegitur* just before. —— **quae** ...m **domus** etc.: cf. Sallust, Iug. 10, 6 *concordia parvae res crescunt,* ...*ordia maximae dilabuntur;* Matthew, 12, 25. —— **discidiis**: so ...htly written, not *dissidiis*. Most scholars now agree with Madvig ...d Cic. Fin. Exc. II. p. 812 *et seq.*) in denying *dissidium* to be a Latin word.

24. **quidem**: often used like the Greek γε or γοῦν to introduce a statement confirming a previous statement. —— **doctum quendam**: Empedocles, born about 485 B. C. Cicero is very careful not to make Laelius betray too intimate an acquaintance with Greek literature. Cf. n. on 87 *nescio quem.* —— **vaticinatum**: 'sang in inspired strain'. The *vates* is *divino quodam spiritu inflatus* (Arch. 18); cf. also *vaticini furores* in Ov. Met. 2, 640. The great philosophical poem of Empedocles, περὶ φύσεως, the title of which is borrowed by Lucretius ...em 'De Rerum Natura', and which he greatly imitates, ...many passages that seemed to sober-minded readers to ...madness; cf. Acad. 2, 14 *isti exclamant quasi mente incitati,* ... *quidem ut interdum mihi furere videatur;* also Lucr. 1, 727 ...*in etiam divini pectoris eius vociferantur.* As the word

vaticinari sometimes means 'to prophesy', there may be a reference to the fact that Empedocles claimed to possess prophetic and magic powers. —— **totoque mundo**: this is merely explanatory of *rerum natura*, which has the same meaning; 'in the constitution of things and the entire universe'. —— **constarent...discordiam**: Empedocles held that two principles were perpetually at war in the universe, one the principle of love or friendship, attraction, constantly tending to unite the scattered portions of the four elements, fire, air, earth, and water, so as to bring things into existence, the other the principle of hate or enmity, repulsion, tending to decompose bodies into their constituent parts. —— **ea**: object of both the infinitives following. —— **hoc**: 'this principle', *i. e.* that friendship is a uniting force, hatred a destructive force. —— **omnes mortales**: here = simply *omnes homines*. Cicero never uses *mortalis* for *homo* without some attribute, though the usage is very common in Sallust, Tacitus, and the later Latin prose. Caesar altogether avoids the word. Cf. *mortalis nemo* in 18. —— **re probant**: 'approve by their actions'. —— **si quando aliquod**: Cicero, like the other Latin writers, often seems capricious in his use of *quando* and *aliquando*, *quid* (*quod*...) and *aliquid* (*aliquod*...) after *si*. It is commonly said that when the words with *ali-* are used after *si* they are more emphatic than the simple forms; the passages, however, do not always bear out the supposition. Cf. Madvig, 493, *a*, Obs. 1. —— **adeundis**: *i. e. pro amico*; in the one case the *amicus* meets the danger alone, and protects his friend; in the other both friends face it together. The use of *in* is the same as that in 9 *in pueris*. —— **M. Pacuvi**: Pacuvius, the greatest tragic writer in Latin (*summus tragicus*—Cic. de Opt. Gen. Dic. 2) was born at Brundisium about 220 and lived till about 130 B. C. See Sellar, Roman Poets of the Republic, Ch. 5. Since Pacuvius probably exhibited no new play after his eightieth year (Cic. Brut. 229), and Scipio died in 129 B. C., the word *nuper* is very loosely used, as in 13. Pacuvius probably never became a Roman citizen, hence Cic. calls him *hospes* as well as *amicus*. So Fam. 9, 12, 2 *hospiti veteri et amico* (of king Deiotarus). —— **nova fabula**: commonly supposed to be a play called the Dulorestes (though Ribbeck and some other scholars deny this), of which a number of fragments are preserved. Cf. Fin. 5, 63. The story was often handled by Greek dramatists. The plays of Pacuvius were all *palliatae* and closely copied from Greek originals, but it

is not exactly known on what Greek play the Dulorestes was founded. It certainly did not follow the Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides, which treats the same story. The *rex* was Thoas, king of the Tauric Chersonese. —— **stantes plaudebant**: 'they (the audience) rose to their feet and cheered'. It has generally been supposed that Cic. here is guilty of a slight anachronism, because the first permanent theatre at Rome was erected by Pompeius, before which time it is believed that the audience stood throughout the exhibition of the plays. The temporary booths, however, may have contained rough galleries; cf. Tac. Ann. 14, 20 with Nipperdey's n. With Cicero's words cf. Att. 2, 19, 3 *Curioni stantes plauserant;* Phaedr. 5, 7, 28 *in plausus consurrectum est;* Suet. Aug. 56. On the use of *stantes* see G. 667, Rem. 1; H. 549, 5. —— **arbitramur**: n. on 14 *censemus.* —— **possent**: *sc. si facto opus esset.* For suppressed protasis cf. ref. on 5 *velim.*

P. 11. —**hactenus**: contrasted with *si quae praeterea sunt.* —— **de ... sentirem**: for the arrangement of the words cf. 14 *de immortalitate animorum quae;* also 16 *de amicitia ... quid sentias. Sentirem,* past tense to suit the tense of *potuisse.* —— **ab eis**: cf. 17.

25. nos autem: *sc. quaeremus.* It very seldom happens in Latin that a verb in the indicative or subjunctive, or indeed a verb at all, has to be supplied from one in the imperative or *vice versa.* —— **saepe quaesivi**: *sc. quid sentirent.* —— **filum**: all languages have metaphors resembling this. Cf. De Or. 3, 103 *filo ipso et genere orationis;* ib. 2, 93 *omnes erant uberiore filo;* Orat. 124 *argumentandi tenue filum;* Fam. 9, 12, 2 *munusculum crasso filo;* Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 225 *tenui deducta poemata filo.* —— **tum ... si**: used here like the commoner *ita ... si;* cf. 53 *si ... intellegitur.* —— **si nuper affuisses**: but in the dialogue De Re Publica 1, 18 Fannius appears as one of the listeners. He may not have been represented as present at the discussions in the subsequent books, which are only preserved in a fragmentary state. In 14 Cic. seems to indicate the absence of Fannius. —— **patronus**: 'advocate'. The question was whether justice is an absolutely necessary foundation for a state. —— **nonne facile**: *sc. est defendere* —— **servatam**: A. 292, *a*; G. 667, Rem. 2; H. 549, 5, n. 2.

(2) *The Basis of True Friendship — Love.* 26–32.

For summary see Introd. p. x.

26. vim ... afferre: a form of answer often used in reply to very pressing entreaties; cf. Terent. Adelph. 5, 8, 19 (l. 943) *non omittitis? vis est haec quidem;* Suet. Iul. Caes. 82 *ista quidem vis est* (said by Caesar when first attacked by his assassins). —— **studiis ... obsistere**: the same kind of excuse for a philosophical discussion is given in Orat. 2; cf. ib. 140. —— **in re bona**: cf. 17 *praeclara res est.* —— **mihi ... cogitanti**: so the De Oratore begins — *cogitanti mihi saepenumero et memoria vetera repetenti perbeati fuisse, Quinte frater, illi videri solent* ... So the second book of the De Div. — *quaerenti mihi multumque et diu cogitanti ... occurrebat.* —— **propter ... inopiam**: cf. 23 *egentes abundant, imbecilli valent;* Arist. Eth. Nic. 8, 1, 2. —— **meritis**: = *officiis, beneficiis.* —— **quisque**: 'when a relative and a demonstrative proposition are combined, *quisque* almost always stands in the relative proposition, commonly (without emphasis) immediately after the relative, so that even *se* and *suus* stand after *quisque*'. Madvig, 495. Cf. also A. 202, *e*; G. 305, Rem. 1 and 2; H. 569, I. 2. —— **posset**: *sc. habere,* to be supplied from *acciperet.* —— **esset**: was, *i. e.* from the beginning. —— **proprium amicitiae**: *amicitiae* is genitive, not dative; it is doubtful whether Cic. uses the dative after *proprius* at all. —— **alia causa**: *sc. amicitiae;* emphatic position. **amor ... amicitia**: the same statement in Fin. 2, 78; N. D. 1, 122 and below 100. —— **princeps ... ad**: 'leads to'; so Arch. 1 *hunc video mihi principem ad suscipiendam rationem horum studiorum exstitisse;* Phil. 10, 24; Sull. 9. —— **ab eis**: 'from those', not 'by those'. —— **temporis causa**: 'to suit the occasion'. —— **fictum**: opposed to *verum* below, as *simulatum* is to *voluntarium.* —— **et**: see n. on 21 *virosque.*

P. 12. — 27. ab indigentia orta: Cic. probably never used *ortus* with abl. without the preposition. —— **potius ... magis**: the difference in sense between these two words is in use frequently obliterated, but *potius* strictly means 'better', and therefore ought to indicate that of two alternatives one is preferred by some individual to the other, while *magis* strictly means 'more', and ought to have no direct reference to choice. —— **applicatione ... cogitatione**: abl. of means or instrument. —— **quod etc.**: 'the nature of this principle'. For

quod quidem quale sit cf. Academ. 2, 124 *quod intellegi quale sit vix potest.* —— **quibusdam**: the limitation (for which see n. on 6 *quodam*) is perhaps due to the fact (insisted on in N. D. 2, 129) that many creatures abandon their eggs when laid. —— **ita amant**: cf. Arist. Eth. Nic. 8, 1, 3. —— **ad quoddam tempus**: N. D. 2, 129 *usque ad eum finem dum possint se ipsa defendere.* —— **sensus**: 'feeling', or 'impulse', *i.e.* as opposed to the calculation of advantages mentioned above. —— **quae...potest**: this is contrasted with *ad quoddam tempus* above. —— **similis sensus amoris**: *i.e. sensus amoris caritati parentum similis;* for the brevity (common in comparisons) cf. n. on 32 *quam ab imbecillitate.* —— **exstitit**: see n. on C. M. 53. —— **si aliquem**: *si* has almost the same sense as *cum* here, and was perhaps used because the repetition of *cum* would have been awkward. *Aliquem* after *si* is perhaps more vivid than *quem*: 'some actual person'. Cf. n. on 24 *si quando.* —— **moribus et natura**: the collocation *natura et moribus* is more natural and common. Cf. 7 with n. —— **quasi**: serves, as usual, to soften the metaphor (n. on 3), which however is a very common one; cf. Fam. 12, 5, 3 *virtutis tuae lumen;* Off. 1, 103 *probi ingeni lumen;* also Lael. 100 *virtus... ostendit suum lumen;* 48 *si qua significatio virtutis eluceat.* —— **perspicere videamur**: G. 541, Rem. 2; H. 516, II. 1.

28. nihil...amabilius: the same words are in N. D. 1, 121, with which cf. Off. 1, 55; 2, 17. —— **quos numquam vidimus**: cf. N. D. 1, 121 *virtute, quam qui adeptus erit ubicumque erit gentium a nobis diligetur,* a Stoic utterance. —— **Fabrici... Curi**: see nn. on 18. —— **memoriam usurpet**: 'goes over his recollections'. *Usurpare* = (*usurip-are,* implying a word *usu-rip-us*) is strictly 'to seize on for use'; hence = constantly to put a thing into practice, or, of thoughts, to con them over. —— **quos...viderit**: concessive. —— **Cassium**: *sc.* Vecellinum (cf. 36). Consul in 493 B. C. and concluded a treaty with the Latins; consul for the third time in 486 and admitted the Hernicans to the league, but in the same year, having brought forward a *lex agraria* was suspected of aiming at despotic power, and tried and put to death (Liv. 2, 41). —— **Maelium**: also suspected of aiming at tyranny, because he gave away corn to the poor. In 439 Cincinnatus, having been made dictator, sent his *magister equitum* Ahala, to summon Maelius. When Maelius refused to obey the summons Ahala had him put to death (Liv. 4, 14). —— **altero... alterum**: in Off. 1, 38 Cic. makes the same comparison between

Pyrrhus and Hannibal. The traditional Roman view of Hannibal is expressed by Horace's *abominatus Hannibal* (Epod. 16, 8), yet the charges brought against him can be thoroughly disproved even from the information preserved by Roman historians. See *e. g.* Liv. 21, 21; 25, 17; 27, 28. Cf. n. on C. M. 75 *hostis.* On Pyrrhus consult Liddell, History of Rome, Bk. 3, Ch. 26. —— **oderit**: here fut. ind.; above, subj.

29. maius: 'a more difficult matter'; cf. 69 *maximum;* C. M. 1 *maior.* —— **etiam**: this would naturally come before *in hoste*, but is thrust aside in order to complete as soon as possible the construction *vel in ... vel in.* —— **quid**: see references on C. M. 1 *quid.* —— **est ... si moveantur**: a common form of the conditional sentence in Cicero; cf. Academ. 1, 7 *sive Zenonem sequare magnum est.* The sense here is 'if the supposition be made that etc'. —— **cum videantur**: *cum* referring to the repetition of an action ('as often as' 'whenever', 'every time that') though generally accompanied by the indicative, is sometimes, as here, used with the subjunctive. The subjunctive gives a more hypothetical coloring to the verb statement and has about the force of a general condition. See Madvig, 359; cf. A. 322; G. 585, Rem.; H. 507, 3. —— **coniuncti**: here no participle but a mere adjective; so many other past participles in Cic. lose their participial force, particularly *commendatus.* —— **studio**: *sc. amici.* —— **consuetudine**: 'familiarity'.

P. 13. — **motum animi**: = *applicationem animi* in 27; a narrower sense than that in 48. —— **et amoris**: for *amor* is *princeps ad benevolentiam coniungendam;* see 26. —— **adhibitis**: in sense almost = *additis.* —— **imbecillitate**: 26, 23; N. D. 1, 122 *ne homines quidem censetis, nisi imbecilli essent, futuros beneficos et benignos fuisse?* —— **quisque**: see n. on 26. —— **generosum**: lit. 'high-born' and so the metaphor is modified by *ut ita dicam*, for which see n. on 49. So Tusc. 2, 16 *quaedam generosa virtus.* —— **volunt**: 'suppose'. —— **minimum ... se**: cf. 26, 46; De Or. 1, 123 *ut in quoque oratore plurimum esset;* ib. 2, 122 *si quid est in me.* —— **ad amicitiam aptissimus**: A. 234, *b*; G. 356, Rem. 3; H. 391, II. 1, (2).

30. ut enim etc.: this question is discussed by Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 9, 9. —— **sic ... ut**: a comparison within the comparison introduced by *ut quisque.* —— **munitus est**: cf. the *edita doctrina templa* of Lucretius; also Attius quoted in Cic. Div. 1, 45 *sapientia munitum pectus*, and St Paul's 'breastplate of righteousness'. Hor. Ep.

1, 1, 60 *hic murus aheneus esto nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.* —— **nullo**: Cic. uses the abl. and gen. of *nullus* as substantives, to replace the abl. and gen. of *nemo*, which were not in use. He avoids, however, the use of *nullus, nulli, nullum* as substantives, and even prefers *nemo homo, sapiens* etc. to *nullus homo* etc. Nor does Cic. write *nulli* (nom. plur.) by itself, since *nemo* expresses the same sense. Generally the Republican and Augustan writers agree with Cic. in his treatment of *nemo* and *nullus*. See Madvig, 91; G. 304, end; H. 457, 2. —— **suaque etc.**: for the sense cf. 7. For *que* see n. on 21 *virosque*. —— **quid enim?** Like our exclamation 'why, now!' —— **Africanus indigens**: the σοφός or *sapiens* of the Stoic system was αὐτάρκης, sufficient for himself. Chrysippus (Seneca Ep. 9) drew a fine distinction, that there was nothing the wise man needed, though there were many things it was advisable for him to have — *nulla re indigere et tamen multis illi rebus o p u s e s s e.* Cf. Plato, Lysis 215 B. —— **indigens**: the omission both of an interrogative particle and of *erat* renders the question more emphatic. —— **ac**: 'and assuredly'; *ac* or *atque* at the outset of a sentence often introduces a statement emphatically. Cic. and the other writers of the best period never use *nec ... quidem*, the place of which is often taken by *ac*, or *et*, or *atque* followed by *ne ... quidem*. —— **ego**: *sc. dilexi*, to be supplied from *dilexit*. Cf. Phil. 2, 38. —— **virtutis eius**: the use of a genitive dependent on another is commonest in Cic. when, as here, the dependent genitive is a pronoun. Cf. 37 *illius furoris*. —— **opinione ... habebat**: a somewhat roundabout mode of expression. Cf. Att. 7, 2, 5 *de opinione et seq.* —— **fortasse non nulla**: mark the show of modesty. —— **habebat ... dilexit**: the change of tense should be observed; the imperfect denotes that Africanus was some time in coming to his conclusions about Laelius; *dilexit* points to the moment his decision took effect. —— **multae et magnae**: when two adjectives are in agreement with the same noun Cic. generally connects them with *et*, where English idiom would often require them to be put side by side. When *multus* is one of two adjectives the conjunction is rarely left out (cf. Greek usage — πολλὰ καὶ κακά), but if *multus* is one of three adjectives the *et* sometimes disappears. Cf. Verr. 5, 119 *multi et graves dolores*, but Fam. 5, 17, 3 *multis fortissimis atque optimis viris;* Pro Imp. Cn. Pomp. 6 *multa ... magna et gravia bella.* —— **causae diligendi**: a somewhat pleonastic phrase; it would have been enough to say that

love (not the causes of love) starts from hope. Cf. however Fin. 1, 42 *rerum gerendarum initia proficiscuntur a voluptate aut a dolore;* Tac. Hist. 1, 39 *initio caedis orto;* Liv. 32, 34, 7 *ab illis principium belli ortum est;* C. M. 75 *cursum equorum.*

31. faeneramur etc.: cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 6, 4 ἡ δὲ διὰ τὸ χρήσιμον (φιλία) τῶν ἀγοραίων (*i. e.* belongs to mercenary persons); Fin. 2, 117; N. D. 1, 122; Sen. Ben. 1, 2, 3 *turpis faeneratio est beneficium expensum ferre* (to make kindness a matter of book-keeping); Sen. Ep. 9, 10 *negotiatio est non amicitia quae quid consecutura sit spectat.* —— **in ipso amore**: for the change here from *amicitiam* to *amore* cf. 100 *sive amor sive amicitia;* for the general sense Fam. 3, 13, 2 *mihi propono fructum amicitiae nostrae ipsam amicitiam.*

32. his: neuter; = *his sententiis;* cf. 13 *ut in plerisque.* The antecedent of *qui* is the subject of *dissentiunt;* the reference is to the Epicureans. —— **pecudum ritu**: n. on 20; Parad. 1, 14 *quae quidem mihi vox* (*voluptatem esse summum bonum*) *pecudum videtur esse, non hominum.* —— **ad . . . referunt**: a form of expression exceedingly common in Cicero's philosophical works. See n. on C. M. 43. Cf. also *voluptate omnia metiri* (Fin. 2, 56; De. Or. 3, 62), *dirigere omnia voluptate* (Fin. 2, 71). —— **magnificum**: μεγαλοπρεπές; cf. n. on 21. —— **ac**: cf. n. on 54 *atque.* —— **suspicere**: 'look up to'; for the metaphorical sense cf. Off. 2, 36 *eos viros suspiciunt;* Orat. 97 *eloquentia quam suspicerent omnes;* Fam. 10, 9, 2 *honores praemiaque vestra suspicio;* De Or. 3, 22. —— **abiecerunt**: 'have degraded'; cf. Leg. 1, 26 *nam cum ceteras animantes* (*natura*) *abiecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit et ad caeli conspectum excitavit.* —— **contemptam**: here, as often, not 'despised', but 'despicable'. —— **benevolentiae**: see n. on 20 *benevolentia et caritate.* —— **facta** etc.: 'when intimation has been given of moral worth'. Cf. 27, last sentence; 48, last sentence, and 100.

P. 14. — **usu**: = *consuetudine;* 'intimacy', 'society'. —— **pares et aequales**: so 56 *pariter aequaliterque;* Orat. 123 *par et aequalis oratio;* De Or. 1, 83 *virtutes esse inter se aequalis et paris.* The word *aequalis* means properly 'even', or 'on the same level', *par* 'having the same quantity or size'; but in their secondary applications the two words become convertible; cf. Orat. 205 *imparibus an aequalibus.* For the expression *in amore pares* cf. Propert 1, 1, 32 *sitis et in tuto semper amore pares* and for the sense § 69 *seq.* with the nn. —— **haec certatio**: for *huius rei* or *de hac re certatio;* cf. n. on 2 *eum sermo-*

nem. —— **quam ab imbecillitate**: = *quam si ab imbecillitate esset*; for the brevity of the expression cf. n. on 27 *similis sensus amoris. Quam* not seldom in Cic. precedes the comparative; *e.g.* Off. 1, 75 *quamvis sit eius nomen quam Solonis illustrius.* —— **gravior et verior**: *gravior*, because resting on ethical grounds; *verior*, 'more real', because those who aim at the expedient love not so much the friend as the benefits to be gained from him. (Lahm.) Cf. 26 *antiquior et pulchrior et magis a natura profecta causa.* —— **utilitas**: 'expediency'. —— **conglutinaret**: see nn. on C. M. 72 *coagmentavit, conglutinavit.* —— **eadem...dissolveret**: cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 4, 2. —— **commutata**: see n. on 25 *servatam.* —— **nisi quid ad haec**: *sc. dicere.* Laelius is about to proceed 'now let us turn to another part of our subject' when Fannius interrupts. Cf. Tusc. 2, 42; ib. 4, 46 *exspecto quid ad ista.* —— **tu vero perge**: 'yes, *do* go on'. So Academ. 1, 18 *tu vero, inquit, perge, Varro;* De Or. 2, 124. —— **meo iure**: 'as I have a right to do'; lit. 'by a right that is mine'.

(3) *Duration of Friendship, and the Dangers to which Friendship is exposed.* §§ 33–35.

See Introd. p. x.

33. optimi viri: a form of address commonly ironical, though not so here. In C. M. 39 Cato addresses Scipio and Laelius as *optimi adulescentes.* —— **quamquam ille quidem**: καίτοι ἐκεῖνός γε; cf. 97. *Quamquam* seems to imply that Laelius did not altogether agree with Scipio on this subject. —— **expediret**: *sc. utrique.* —— **sentiretur**: *sc. ab utroque.* —— **saepe**: probably to be taken with *mutari*, not with *dicebat*, so that *alias...alias* is an expansion or explanation of *saepe.* For *alias* see n. on 1. —— **exemplum** etc: in *exemplum capiebat ex similitudine* there is the same kind of pleonasm as above, *sunt causae diligendi profectae.* —— **praetexta toga**: n. on 1.

34. perduxissent: *sc. pueri amicitiam*: see n. on C. M. 60 *perduxisse* (*sc. studia agri colendi*). —— **condicionis**: = *de condicione. Condicio*, even without the addition of *uxoria*, often means a proposal or agreement to marry ('a match'); Nep. Att. 12, 1 *nullius condicionis non habere potestatem.* —— **labefactari**: *sc. amicitiam*, which is probably also the subject of *dirimi* above, though Seyffert makes the subject of both infinitives to be the same as the subject of *perduxissent.* It would be possible to use *dirimi* of persons, but scarcely *labefactari*

with the sense 'to be rendered changeful'. —— **amicitiis**: a '*dativus commodi*'. Cf. Off. 2, 9 *consuetudo ... honestatem ab utilitate secernens ... qua nulla pernicies maior hominum vitae potuit afferri.* —— **optimis quibusque**: so Arch. 26 *optimus quisque gloria maxime ducitur.* The love of fame is 'the last infirmity of noble minds'. In *optimis quibusque* we have a very rare usage. The best writers use the plural of *quisque* only in the neuter, and that with a superlative adjective, not the fem. or, as here, the masc. plural.

P. 15. — 35. iusta: *i. e.* with good reason on one side or the other. —— **libidinis ministri**: Liv. 3, 44, 6 *minister decemviri libidinis.* —— **adiutores ... ad**: the common construction of *adiutor* in Cic. is with a genitive of the thing wherein aid is given, but dative of the person to whom aid is given, as in 42; cf. however Flacc. 1 *adiutor ad rem perficiendam. Adiuvare ad, adiumentum ad* often occur. —— **quod**: conjunction. —— **deserere**: for the infinitive dependent on the personal *arguerentur* instead of the impersonal construction *argueretur eos deserere*, cf. n. on 9 *ut videris;* also Rosc. Am. 37 *occidisse patrem Sex. Roscius arguitur;* also *quaeruntur* in 16. —— **quidvis**: 'anything and everything'. —— **omnia**: not different in sense from *quidvis* above. Cf. Att. 9, 18, 3 *ad omnia descensurum* ('would stick at nothing'). —— **sempiterna**: in contrast to *amicitiae sempiternae* in 32. —— **quasi**: used to soften the metaphor; *fatum* is used often in its poetical sense of *mors* or *interitus.* —— **felicitatis**: 'good fortune'. —— **diceret sibi videri**: these words take the place of *esset*, which would be used if the sentence were entirely logical. Cf. De Or. 2, 278 *illud Siculi cui cum familiaris quidam quereretur quod diceret uxorem suam suspendisse se de ficu ...* Similar examples are exceedingly common in Cicero; see Roby, 1746; A. 341, Rem.; G. 541, Rem. 2; H. 516, II. 1. The subject of *videri* is of course *subterfugere.*

(4) *Discussion of Practical Questions connected with Friendship.* §§ 36–100.

a. Friendships of the Wise. 36–75.

See Introd. p. x.

36. quatenus etc.: 'how far affection should lead us to proceed in dealing with friendship'. This paragraph is really inconsistent with 18 where Laelius says *sentio nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse.* Cf. 56 *qui sint in amicitia fines et quasi termini diligendi;* and

for *progredi*, 34 *in amicitia provecti:* the limits of friendly service are discussed also in Off. 3, 43. —— **numne**: a rare form, found in N. D. 1, 88 *quid? deum ipsum numne vidisti?* The *ne* renders the *num* more emphatic. —— **Coriolanus**: a brave but proud patrician, exiled in 490 B. C. because in time of famine he proposed to give the plebeians no share of the grain, sent by Gelon of Syracuse, until they had given up their tribunes. In league with the Volscians he then marched against Rome, and was dissuaded from taking the city only by the tears and supplications of his mother and other matrons. See Liv. 2, 34–40. The whole account has a legendary coloring. See Ihne, History of Rome, Bk. 2, Ch. 4; Mommsen, Bk. 2, Ch. 2. —— **Vecellinum ... Maelium**: nn. on 28.

37. vexantem: Cicero uniformly speaks of the Gracchi as traitors and *iure caesi.* —— **Tuberone**: son of a sister of Africanus minor; plebeian tribune in 133; a vigorous opponent of Gracchus; a strict Stoic. —— **aequalibus amicis**: 'those of his contemporaries who were his friends'. Carbo and Cato, mentioned at the end of 39, were only *prope aequales* (Brut. 96). —— **videbamus**: the imperfect because referred to *vexantem;* 'we saw him during the whole of his seditious action'; cf. 6 *tribuebatur.* —— **Cumanus hospes**: *Cumae* did not receive the Roman franchise till after the Social War. The Blosii or Blossii were a noble family at Cumae (Cic. Leg. Agr. 2, 93; Liv. 23, 7, 8; 27, 3, 5). This member of the family was a Stoic philosopher and pupil of Antipater of Tarsus. On the incident see Liddell, History of Rome, Ch. 52, § 2. —— **aderam ... in consilio**: 'was present as one of the advisers to ...' The *consilium* was a most important institution in both the public and the private life of the Romans. There was deeply ingrained in the Roman mind a feeling that no person having serious business to transact, whether private or official, ought to proceed without taking the opinion of those best qualified to advise him. The body of advisers is the *consilium.* The senate was the *consilium* of the king, and then became the standing *consilium* of the consuls. Officials exercising judicial functions generally summoned to their aid leading lawyers; in the case here mentioned, as the trials were political, statesmen of experience were resorted to. On this special commission (below, page 16 *quaestione nova*) for searching out the accomplices of Gracchus see Liddell, *ut supra;* Mommsen, Vol. 3, p. 120 (Am. ed.) —— **Laenati ... Rupilio**: consuls of the year 132 when the enquiry into the acts of

Gracchus and his followers took place. For Rupilius cf. 73 and Introd. p. v. Of Laelius Val. Max. 4, 7, 1 says *consilio eius consules* (*Rupilius* and *Laenas*) *praecipue utebantur.* —— **tanti**: see A. 252, *a*; G. 379; H. 404, and n. 1. —— **fecisset... putaret**: *faceret* could not have been written because Gracchus was dead, but the mind having once been carried back to the past, it is permissible to use the imperfects *vellet* and *putaret* to denote that so long as Gracchus continued to live, the opinion of Blossius continued as here described. On the mood of *fecisset* see Roby, 1744; A. 321, *a*; G. 541; H. 516, II. —— **etiamne**: *sc. hoc putares?* —— **dixit**: *sc. se fuisse facturum.* —— **temeritati**: 'infatuation'. —— **illius furoris**: n. on 30 *virtutis eius.*

P. 16. — **hac amentia** etc.: observe that in this sentence the clauses are not connected by particles. The omission is intentional, suiting the haste of Blossius. *Hac amentia* = 'in this mad state'. —— **quaestione nova**: 'special court of enquiry'. For *nova* is usually written (with *quaestio*) *extra ordinem*, or *extraordinaria.* —— **in Asiam... ad hostis**: he joined Aristonicus, the pretender to the throne of Pergamus, then in arms against the Romans. When Aristonicus was finally defeated, Blossius committed suicide, as his Stoic tenets permitted him to do. —— **rei publicae**: the country is the offended party, and the penalty is regarded as a *debt* due to it. —— **peccati**: a stronger word than *culpa*; a translation of the Stoic ἁμαρτήματος = sin. —— **peccaveris**: perfect subjunctive in the protasis of a general condition. See references on C. M. 21 *exerceas.* —— **conciliatrix**: Cic. is particularly fond of these feminine nouns in *-trix*, many of which he manufactured himself; he frequently applies them, as here, to inanimate objects; cf. 89 *assentatio adiutrix. Conciliatrix* occurs in Plautus in the sense of 'match-maker'. —— **virtutis**: = *de virtute*; cf. 34 *contentio condicionis.*

38. **si statuerimus... si simus**: double protasis; less awkward here than in many passages, because the *quidem* marks the second protasis as distinctly subordinate to the first. —— **perfecta... sapientia** etc.: cf. closely 18, 100. —— **res** etc.: 'the practice would lead to no wrong'. *Vitium* here almost = *culpa.* On the form *viti* see n. on C. M. 1 *praemi.* —— **ex hoc numero**: = *ex horum numero*, the latter being a form of expression which Cic. very rarely uses. In De Or. 2, 56 we have *ex... numero eorum qui*; Vat. 41 *in illorum numero.* For the attraction cf. n. on 2, *eum sermonem.* —— **et...**

quidem: here concessive, not affirmative; 'though especially'. —— **qui...accedunt**: these are the persons mentioned in 19 as *viros bonos* etc.

39. videmus: here, as in 56 and often, = *scriptum videmus*. Cf. Academ. 2, 129 *nobilis disciplina, cuius, ut scriptum video, princeps Xenophanes*. See n. on C. M. 26 *videmus*. —— **Aemilium Luscino**: Q. Aemilius Papus and C. Fabricius Luscinus (see n. on 18) were colleagues in the consulship in 282 and 278 and in the censorship in 275 B.C. *Familiaris*, like *amicus*, takes a dative when it is treated as an adjective, and a genitive when it is a substantive. For *Papum Aemilium*, the *cognomen* put before the *nomen* (a practice extremely common in Tacitus and his contemporaries), cf. Q. Fr. 2, 4, 1 *Macer Licinius*. —— **sic**: the clauses *bis...censura* are explanatory of *sic*. —— **patribus**: = *maioribus*, though in 6 (*apud patres nostros*) *patres* has the strict sense. Note the omission of *fuisse*. —— **tum**: this probably has not a temporal meaning here, but = *deinde* 'next in order', as though *primum* had preceded. —— **Curium...Coruncanium**: nn. on 18. —— **memoriae**: see n. on C. M. 63. —— **igitur**: here (like our phrase 'well then') serves to introduce a new step in the statement. The position of *igitur* as first word in the sentence, though regular in Sallust and very common in succeeding writers, is in Cicero exceptional and emphatic. A. 156, *e* and *k*; G. 503 and Rem.; H. 554, IV. 3. —— **ne suspicari quidem**: this implies the contrast 'much less can we believe'. —— **contendisse**: for the construction *contendere aliquid ab aliquo* 'to press some one for something' cf. Planc. 12 *meum beneficium ad eum potius detuli qui a me contenderat*; Verr. 2, 131 *hic magistratus a populo summa ambitione contenditur*. A clause with *ut* often takes the place of the accusative. —— **fidem**: 'a promise', or 'a pledge'. —— **hoc quidem**: 'a request of this kind', dependent on *impetraturum*, not on *dicere*. —— **contendisset**: *sc. aliquis ex eis*; for the omission of the subject to the verb cf. n. on 59 *esset osurus*. —— **sanctissimi viri**: 'the purest of men'. —— **rogatum**: not in agreement with *aliquid*, but with the unexpressed subject (*aliquem* = τινά) of the infinitive *facere*; cf. *rogati* below. —— **at vero**: 'but truly'. Laelius intends this sentence to carry with it the inference that the friendship between Gracchus on the one hand, and Carbo, Cato etc. on the other, was no true friendship. —— **Carbo**: cf. 41, 96. C. Papirius Carbo became, after the death of Ti. Gracchus, one of the commissioners for carrying out

the agrarian law. He was tribune in 131 B. C. and introduced vote by ballot at the passing of laws in the *Comitia*. As consul in 120 he tried to reconcile himself with the aristocrats but failed. In 119 he was prosecuted for his share in the Gracchan troubles and committed suicide. —— **Cato**: a grandson of the censor, and also of Paulus Macedonicus, whose daughter married the son of the censor. This Cato was consul in 114 and condemned for corruption in connection with Iugurtha. —— **minime**: qualifies *acer* to be supplied from *accerrimus*, 'then not very zealous, though now exceedingly so'. *Tum* refers to the period immediately after the death of Ti. Gracchus; *nunc*, to the time of the supposed conversation, 129 B. C. In the word *acerrimus* there is a hint at the suspicion that C. Gracchus had a hand in Scipio's death. See Intr. to C. M. p. xxii. This difficult passage is thoroughly discussed by Madvig, Opuscula, 2, 281. —— **Gaius**: see n. on 3.

40. neque...nec: common in Cic. for *nec...nec; nec...neque*, however, is rare (Arch. 29). Cf. 52. —— **minime accipienda**: 'not to be allowed'. So *πρόφασιν* or *σκῆψιν ἀποδέχεσθαί τινος*.

P. 17. — nos: = *Romani*, not simply Laelius and his sons-in-law. —— **maiorum**: depends on *spatio curriculoque*. Metaphors from racing are common in Cicero; cf. *e. g.* Academ. 2, 112; C. M. 14, 33, 83. Cf. also below, 101. That there is little difference in meaning between *spatium* and *curriculum* (here perhaps 'course and career') is shown by passages like Orat. 12 *Academiae spatia sunt curricula multiplicium variorumque sermonum*. *Spatium* refers rather to the whole ground of the race-course, *curriculum* to the track or portion passed over in running.

41. regnum occupare: 'to establish a monarchy'. In Vell. Pater. 2, 4, 4 Scipio says of Ti. Gracchus '*si occupandae rei publicae animum habuisset*'. —— **vel**: = *vel potius*. —— **is quidem**: = *ἐκεῖνός γε*, or *ὅ γε* as in Homer; not needed for the sense, but added in order to point attention more closely to the subject of the verb. —— **audierat**: the modern equivalent for *hearing* of such a matter would be *reading about it in history*. So the Greeks say *ἀκούομεν* 'we know from history'; *ἀνήκοος* 'a man ignorant of history'. —— **P. Scipione**: P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio, the murderer of Ti. Gracchus. He is sometimes called *pontifex* (*e. g.* in Cat. 1, 3) to distinguish him from Africanus, but in other passages merely P. Scipio as here; cf. Leg. 3, 20; Planc. 88. His father is mentioned in 101. Nasica Serapio

was a son of a daughter of the elder Africanus, therefore a cousin of the Gracchi. The senate gave him a *legatio* to Pergamus, a form of honorable exile, in order to withdraw him from the fury of the democratic party. He committed suicide at Pergamus. —— **effecerint:** Seyffert rightly points out that *fecerint* could not stand here, since the democratic party had not itself d o n e anything to Nasica, but had forced the senate to punish him. —— **non queo:** n. on 22; cf. also n. on 71 *queant.* —— **nam:** this is elliptic, as often; so γάρ in Greek. The full sense would be 'I need hardly mention Carbo, for etc.' —— **quocumque modo potuimus:** 'we' here = the aristocratic party. —— **propter poenam:** *i. e.* it would have excited the populace too much to attempt to punish Carbo so soon after Ti. Gracchus' death. —— **sustinuimus:** 'we have borne with'. —— **C. Gracchi autem:** but in 69 *Q. vero Maximum.* The latter collocation is regular: here *autem* is put after in order to make the contrast between *Ti. Gracchi* and *C. Gracchi* more striking. —— **tribunatu:** still in the future at the time when Laelius is supposed to be speaking; Scipio died in 129 and C. Gracchus did not become tribune till 123 B. C. —— **serpit:** cf. 87. *Serpere* means here 'to make progress imperceptibly or insinuatingly'. Nägelsbach, Stilistik § 129, has brought together a good many instances of this use, and of other words or phrases similarly used, as *manare, fundi, fluere,* often with *longe* and *late.* For *serpere* cf. Fin. 5, 65 *caritas ... serpit sensim;* ib. 2, 45 *homo profectus a caritate domesticorum et suorum serpit longius;* N. D. 3, 51 *illa autem, Balbe, quae tu a caelo astrisque ducebas quam longe serpant, non vides?* —— **serpit ... labitur:** general in scope, and intended to give the reason why Laelius dreaded to think of the future course of Gaius Gracchus. *Deinde* here is used proleptically, *i. e.* it presupposes *semel* which comes after; cf. n. on 7 *reliqua.* The sentence *videtis ... Cassia* simply gives an actual example of this general principle. —— **proclivis:** see ref. on C. M. 38 *frequens.* —— **coepit:** *sc. labi.* The omission of the infinitive is exceedingly common with both *coepi* and *debeo.* Cf. Cat. 1, 10 *perge quo coepisti.* Observe that Cic. and Caesar do not, as Sallust, Livy, and later writers, use *coepi* absolutely; *i. e.* an infinitive is always either expressed or implied —— **in tabella:** 'in the matter of voting'; lit. 'of the voting ticket'. For the collocation *in tabella quanta sit* cf. 24 *de amicitia quid sentirem.* —— **iam ante:** *i. e.* before the time of C. Gracchus. —— **labes:** 'corruption', *i. e.* of old institutions. —— **Gabinia lege:** this law, entitled *de*

magistratibus mandandis (Leg. 3, 35) was carried by A. Gabinius, tribune in 139 B. C., and introduced into elections voting by ballot, *i. e.* by writing the name of the candidate on a ticket or tablet. —— **Cassia**: this law was carried by L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla, tribune in 137 B. C., and extended the ballot to the juries in the criminal courts. Cassius was afterwards a judge and for his severity called *scopulus reorum;* he was the author of the saying '*cui bono?*' (*i. e.* who gains by it? viz. the offence). The *lex tabellaria* of Carbo introduced the ballot for voting on laws proposed to the *comitia*. His law is commonly placed in 131 B. C., but there is no direct evidence for the date and it may have been several years later. —— **populum ... multitudinis**: the change seems made merely for the sake of variety.

42. quorsum haec: *sc. disputo*, as in post red. ad Quir. 5 *quorsum igitur haec disputo?* Cf. also C. M. 13; Phil. 7, 26; Leg. 1, 63 *sed quorsus hoc pertinet?* —— **igitur**: note its position as third word in the sentence. —— **ignari casu aliquo**: note the two reasons *ignari* and *casu aliquo* placed side by side unconnected by a conjunction. So 3 *praesentibus coram*. —— **ne**: in final clauses where a negative is needed as here and 43, 60, 65, 78, *ne* and *ut ne* are used indifferently by Cicero; in consecutive negative clauses *ut non* generally stands, as below, but sometimes *ut ne* is found 'when precaution, forethought, or restriction is to be indicated, especially with *ita* preceding'. See Madvig, 456, Obs. 4. Cf. Roby, 1636, 1696. —— **in ... peccantibus**: 'when sinning in some public matter of importance'. Cf. the phrase *summa res publica;* also pro Balbo 14 *in tanta re publica versari;* also n. on 15 *publica re*. —— **nec vero**: this phrase, which occurs also in 65, corresponds to the affirmative expression *et ... quidem*, the phrase *nec ... quidem* being rarely used by good writers; see n. on 30 *ac*. —— **Themistocle**: so Acad. 2, 2 *Themistocle quem facile Graeciae principem ponimus*. —— **imperator**: = στρατηγός of the Athenians. The whole Grecian fleet at Salamis was commanded not by Themistocles but by Eurybiades the Spartan. —— **invidiam**: = διαβολήν 'unpopularity'. —— **viginti annis ante**: the ostracism of Themistocles happened in 471 B. C., while the banishment of Coriolanus from Rome is assigned to the year 491. On the banishment of Themistocles, his relations with the king of Persia and death, see Curtius, Hist. of Greece, Bk. 3, Ch. 2; Smith, Hist. of Greece, Ch. 22. —— **Coriolanus**: he is compared with Themistocles in Brut. 42; Att. 9, 10, 3. Varying accounts were current concern-

ing the death of both these men, as Cic. himself states in Brut. 42 and 43, where he refers to Thuc. 1, 138. In Att. 9, 10, 3 he assumes that Coriolanus died a natural death. —— **nemo**: the inference intended is 'so much worse are the Romans now than their forefathers, and than the Greeks of Themistocles' time'.

43. talis: *i. e.* such as that described in 41.

P. 18. — **supplicio**: a stronger word than *poena* above, 42; in its strict sense *supplicium* means 'summary execution'. For *supplicio omni* = *summo* cf. pro Imp. Cn. Pomp. 11. —— **concessum**: *sc. esse.* —— **haud scio an**: see n. on 20. —— **curae**: n. on 15 *cordi.*

44. haec...faciamus: these words almost exactly repeat the first sentence of 40. Notice that the clauses are put side by side without connecting particles. —— **rogemur**: A. 328; G. 574; H. 519, II. 2. —— **libere**: = μετὰ παρρησίας, 'with all freedom of speech'. —— **aperte**: 'frankly'. Cf. 91 *monere et moneri* etc. —— **adhibitae**: *sc. auctoritati.*

45. nam: 'I say this, for'; slightly elliptic; see n. on 41. —— **quos audio etc.**: cf. n. on 24 *doctum quendam*, and for *audio* n. on 41 *audierat.* Observe that Cic. writes *habitos*, not *haberi.* —— **placuisse**: 'some...have held as dogmas'; the word *placere* has often a much stronger sense than our 'please'. —— **mirabilia**: παράδοξα, a word which Cic. translated sometimes by *mirabilia* (Acad. 2, 136), sometimes by *admirabilia* (Parad. prooem. 4; Fin. 4, 74), sometimes by *admiranda.* —— **sed**: in contrast to *mirabilia* — 'paradoxes indeed, but'. —— **partim**: there is slight anacoluthon here; the sentence is closed without the second *partim* which should correspond to this, and its place is taken by *alios* at the beginning of the next sentence. Both *partim* and *alii* refer to *quibusdam.* Such anacolutha, where only one of a pair of words such as *alter* — *alter*, *alius* — *alius* etc. is expressed and the other replaced, in another sentence, by some other expression, are very common in Cic. Madvig has collected a large number of examples in the first excursus to his De Finibus. —— **fugiendas etc.**: Cic. is here evidently imitating a chorus of the Hippolytus of Euripides, 253 *et seq.* The sentiment is the same as that in Sophocles' Ajax 680 *et seq.* —— **nimias**: 'too strong', 'too close'. —— **sibi**: for the almost pleonastic use cf. Tusc. 5, 42 *omnia sibi in se posita censebit*, and the use in comedy of *suus sibi.* —— **laxissimas habenas**: a paraphrase of l. 256 of the passage ref. to above, εὔλυτα δ' εἶναι στέργηθρα φρενῶν. The collocation *habenas habere* seems in·

tentional; cf. 22 *vita vitalis*. Cf. also Lucr. 2, 1095. —— **quas**: here = *ita ut eas*. —— **adducas...remittas**: for *adducere* 'to draw tight' cf. Verg. Aen. 9, 587 *a. habenas;* Liv. 9, 10 *quin adducis lorum?* For the position of *cum velis* see n. on 8 *cum summi viri tum amicissimi*. —— **caput**: 'the chief matter'; cf. *maximum est* in 69. —— **beate vivendum**: in the Latin of Cicero's time there was no one word to represent the Greek εὐδαιμονία = happiness. Cic. himself in one passage (N. D. 1, 95) coined *beatitas* and *beatitudo*, but did not again use the words, though they became current later. Cf. 84 *beata vita*. —— **securitatem**: Cic. uses this word as well to express the εὐθυμία ('cheerfulness') of Democritus, as the ἀπάθεια ('absence of emotion') of the Stoics, and the ἡδονή of Epicurus. (Seyffert). —— **tamquam parturiat**: a hesitating translation of ὠδίνειν in the passage of Euripides (l. 259); cf. n. on 49 *redamare*.

46. alios: the Cyrenaics and Epicureans; cf. 52 *homines deliciis diffluentes*. —— **dicere aiunt**: see n. on C. M. 27 *dixisse*. —— **inhumanius**: cf. *humanius* in Fin. 2, 82 where Cic. contrasts the sordid view of friendship put forward by Epicurus himself with the gentler views of his later followers. —— **locum**: 'topic'. —— **ante**: 26 *seq.* —— **haberet**: in quotations Cic. often puts the past tense where we should expect the present; *e. g.* N. D. 1, 40 *idemque disputat aethera esse eum quem homines Iovem appellarent*. The change to *quaerant* is odd. See Roby, 1517; Madvig, 382, Obs. 2; A. 287, *h*; G. 519; cf. H. 495, V. —— **appetere**: = ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἐφίεσθαι; different from *expetere* = προαιρεῖσθαι. —— **mulierculae**: this diminutive here expresses pity: often however contempt; cf. γύναιον.

P. 19.—47. praeclaram: ironical, as often; cf. in Cat. 1, 28; Tusc. 1, 49. —— **solem enim** etc.: cf. closely 20, 22, and for the metaphor Att. 9, 10, 3 *sol, ut est in tua quadam epistula, e caelo cecidit*. —— **a dis**: *sc. datum*. —— **quae**: almost = *quanti*, 'of what worth?' —— **blanda**: 'enticing': an epithet often applied to the Epicurean ἡδονή (*voluptas*). —— **reapse**: cf. the common contrast between λόγῳ and ἔργῳ. Corssen II[2] 847 quotes from Festus a fragment of a speech by Scipio where *reque eapse* occurs. We have *i-p-se* and in Plautus *eo-p-se*, *eum-p-se*, *eam-p-se*. All these words contain the enclitic particle *pe* which appears in *nem-pe*, *quis-p-iam* etc.: also the remains of a lost demonstrative pronoun once declined *so-s*, *sa*, *sum*, the same in fact as the definite article ὁ, ἡ in Greek. The only difference in meaning between *reapse* and the simple *re* is one of emphasis. See n. on C. M.

25 *eumpse.* —— **multis locis**: not different in sense from 48 *multis in rebus.* For *locis* cf. 22 *nullo loco, pluribus locis.* —— **consentaneum**: 'consistent', *i. e.* 'with your other actions'. —— **rem**: = πρᾶγμα; *actionem* = πρᾶξιν 'course of action'. —— **fugimus**: 'intend to avoid'; the continuous sense of the present tense frequently borders on a future meaning. —— **aspernetur**: *sc. ut.* —— **bonitas**: 'kindheartedness'; little different from *benevolentia* in 19. —— **malitiam**: 'evil-heartedness', 'ill-will'. —— **temperantia**: σωφροσύνη, 'self-control', particularly with regard to bodily pleasures. —— **videas**: see ref. on 5 *velim.* —— **modestus**: not 'modest', but 'law-abiding'; here almost equivalent to our 'respectable'.

48. cadit in: 'belongs to', 'affects', 'falls within the province of'; a favorite phrase with Cic.; *e. g.* Acad. 1, 42; Tusc. 3, 12 *cadere, opinor, in sapientem aegritudinem tibi dixisti videri;* below, n. on 100. —— **aliquas**: note the difference to the sense which *ullas* for *aliquas* would make — the difference between getting rid of *some actual* troubles (*aliquas*) and *all possible* troubles (*ne... ullas*). —— **motu animi**: to be taken in a wide sense, as the context shows, both of emotions and of intellectual perceptions. The Stoics taught that the wise man should be absolutely unaffected by emotion, which they regarded as sinful. Cf. Tusc. IV, *passim.* Cf. n. on 10 *incommodis.* —— **dico**: this has for its real object the whole phrase *inter pecudem et hominem*, which may be treated as though between inverted commas, as also the whole phrase from *inter hominem* to *eiusdem.* Sometimes Cic. uses *non dicam* for *non dico* in such sentences. Cf. also n. on *ne dicam* in 82. —— **truncum aut saxum**: Cicero was no doubt thinking when he wrote this of the line in the Odyssey (19, 163) οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυός ἐσσι παλαιφάτου, οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης, which he imitates also in Acad. 2, 101. For *truncus* cf. N. D. 1, 84 *qui potest esse in eius modi trunco sapientia?* —— **isti**: the Stoics. —— **quandam**: often used with an adjective to soften the statement. H. 456, 2. Cf. in Greek the use of τὶς as in Xen. Mem. 1, 3, 12 ὡς δεινήν τινα λέγεις δύναμιν τοῦ φιλήματος εἶναι. —— **volunt**: n. on 29; also *volt esse* in 98. —— **cum...tum**: 'as...so'. —— **bonis...incommodis**: = *rebus secundis...adversis* in 17. —— **diffundatur**: *sc. virtus*, put here, after Cicero's fashion, for *vir praeditus virtute.* When the mind is *expanded* it is supposed to feel pleasure, when *contracted*, pain. The Stoics used the terms διαχεῖσθαι and συστέλλεσθαι, διάχυσις and συστολή. —— **non...repudientur**: the sentence is elliptic for *non plus*

quam angor qui capiendus est ex virtutibus valet ut etc. The *non* before *plus* would not be required by good English idiom, though in vulgar English 'not ... *no* more than' is common for 'not ... *any* more than'. —— **contrahat**: the subject is probably *quis* indefinite, omitted as in De Or. 1, 30 *quo velit* = *quo quis velit.* It may be, however, as Seyffert and Nauck make it, the whole clause *si ... eluceat.* The subjunctive is causal. —— **supra**: an expression inadvertently used by Cic., for it implies writing and is inapplicable to a speech. Cf. however 15. In 8 we have *ut est a Fannio dictum.* —— **id cum contigit**: *cum* here simply = *quotiens.* On *contigit* see n. on 8. For *cum* with perfect tense cf. 94.

P. 20.—49. aedificio: see n. on C. M. 56 *porco* etc. —— **corporis ... animante**: adversative asyndeton. —— **praedito**: as *animans* is exceptionally used of man it is here made masculine, but when it is applied to the lower animals, as in 81, it is generally feminine. —— **redamare**: coined by Cic. here to express ἀντιφιλεῖν and used by him nowhere else: it does not occur again in Latin literature till very late. *Ut ita dicam* is used to soften the harshness of this new word. —— **remuneratione**: this applies to *redamare* only, while *vicissitudine* applies to both *amare* and *redamare.*

50. quid? This little anticipatory question, like τί δέ in Greek, serves to draw special attention to what follows. Its meaning really is 'What do you think of this that I am going to say?' —— **addimus**: n. on *fugimus*, 47. —— **nihil esse** etc.: it will be seen that the comparison is not quite perfect, there being two members in the first branch (*nihil ... rem ullam*) and three in the second (*amicitiam ... [homines] ... similitudo*). —— **similitudo**: properly this should be *similitudinem* in the same construction as *nihil*, but it is attracted into the same case with *quod.* Such attractions of case are common. —— **verum esse ut**: cf. 14 *sin autem illa veriora ut*; also 81 *apparet ... ut*; 68 *spem afferunt ut.* When the clause after *verum est* is an infinitive clause, it is regarded as embodying a fact, when an *ut*-clause, a consequence or result. The meaning here may be represented thus: 'this result will be granted as true, so as to lead to the fact that the good love the good'. —— **quasi propinquitate**: 'a sort of relationship'; opposed to actual *propinquitas* (19). —— **natura**: 'natural affinity'. **appetentius**: when present participles lose the notion of time and become adjectives they may take a genitive case. —— **similium**: the neuter plural of the adjective in the genitive case used as substantive

is rare. —— **bonis inter bonos**: more emphatic than *bonis inter se*, which would have been more usual. —— **necessariam**: *sc. esse*. —— **qui**: the attraction of the relative in sentences like this is almost regular in Cicero, and indeed in most other writers of the best period; *e. g.* Pis. 57; Phil. 5, 39 *Pompeio patre, quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, exstincto.* Cf. n. on 18 *eam* etc. —— **amicitiae fons**: cf. 32. —— **inhumana**: 'unkindly'; *immunis*, 'unserviceable' (literally, free from *munia* or duties towards the state); *superba*, 'egotistic'. The last word is difficult to translate, as it combines the notions 'oppressive', 'proud', 'difficult of approach'. —— **quae**: = *cum ea*.

51. fingunt: as in 18 *quae finguntur aut optantur*. —— **amabilissimum**: n. on 4 *maxime memorabilem*. —— **amor ipse**: n. on 19 *natura ipsa*. —— **tum . . . si**: cf. n. on 25. —— **ab amico est profectum**: the word *proficisci* is often thus used in Cicero's letters of services passing between friends; *e. g.* Fam. 2, 19, 2 *quaecumque a me ornamenta in te proficiscentur;* ib. 3, 1, 1; so Nep. Att. 9, 4. —— **tantumque abest ut . . . ut**: this clumsy construction is a very favorite one with Cic. Note that with all good writers the verb in such phrases (*abest*, *afuit* etc.) is impersonal. See Madvig, 440, *a* and Obs. 1; A. 332, *d*; G. 556, Rem. 1; H. 502, 3. —— **indigentiam**: a rare word, scarcely occurring out of Cicero, who uses it above, 27, 29, and Tusc. 4, 16 and 21. —— **praesidi**: cf. 46. —— **alterius**: Cic. uses *indigere* far oftener with a genitive than with an ablative, though the latter is commoner in silver Latin. Cf. Roby, 1334-5. —— **atque**: here corrective = καίτοι, 'and yet'. —— **haud sciam an**: a well-attested though rare variant for *haud scio an;* cf. De Or. 1, 255; 2, 72 and 209. On the mood of *sciam* see references on 5 *tu velim*. —— **ne . . . quidem**: the reason for the negative will be seen by referring to n. on 20 *haud scio an*. —— **nihil . . . deesse**: Cic. is here striving to represent the Greek αὐτάρκης = self-sufficient, for which there was no one word in Latin. —— **ubi**: here = *qua in re* rather than *quo in loco*. Cf. Tusc. 5, 102 *cur igitur divitiae desiderentur, aut ubi paupertas beatos esse non sinit?* ib. 121 *me conscripturum libros arbitror — ubi enim melius uti possumus hoc . . . otio?* —— **studia nostra**: the strength and ardor of my affection.

P. 21. — Scipio eguisset: see however 30 *quid enim? Africanus indigens mei?*

52. homines deliciis diffluentes: 'men enervated by pleasure';

cf. De Or. 3, 131 *otio diffluentes;* Off. 1, 106 *diffluere luxuria;* Terent. Haut. 5, 1, 73 *d. luxuria et lascivia;* Tusc. 2, 52 *liquescimus fluimusque mollitia;* Liv. 7, 29, 5 *fluentes luxu;* also the phrase *fluxa corpora*, and the uses of *solvi, dissolvi, frangi, debilitari* and the like. *Diffluere* is rather rare, not occurring in Caesar, Nepos, Vergil, Horace or Ovid, and only once in Cicero's speeches. The *homines* meant are of course the Epicureans and Cyrenaics, as in 46. —— **habent cognitam**: see n. on C. M. 66 *sollicitam habere.* In such phrases we have the first step towards the conversion of *habere* into an auxiliary verb, which is completed in the Romance languages. Cf. also 97 *exploratum habeas.* See Brachet, Historical French Grammar, Bk. 2, Part 2. —— **ut**: 'on condition that', 'so as neither to...' Cf. Aristotle Eth. Nic. 9, 9, 3 οὐθεὶς γὰρ ἕλοιτ' ἂν καθ' αὑτὸν τὰ πάντ' ἔχειν ἀγαθά. Cicero's words are so near to Aristotle's as almost to look like a translation. Nägelsbach § 96, 2 points out that Cic. here is trying to represent μήτε φιλῶν μήτε φιλούμενος, and gives some instructive remarks on the modes in Latin of replacing the present participle passive. —— **circumfluere**: Verr. 3, 9 *istum rebus omnibus undique ereptis eludentem circumfluere atque abundare.* —— **nulla fides**: cf. Ennius, quoted in Off. 1, 26, *Nulla sancta societas nec fides regni;* Luc. Phar. 1, 92 *Nulla fides regni sociis;* Bacon, Essay on Friendship, 'Princes... cannot gather this fruit' (of friendship). —— **benevolentiae... fiducia**: in the best prose writers *fides* and *fiducia* nearly always take the objective genitive ('trust in'); the dative, however, is found in the poets, as Verg. Aen. 3, 69 *fides pelago;* ib. 10, 152 *fiducia rebus.* Even with the phrases *fidem facere, fiduciam facere*, the construction in good prose is generally *alicuius rei*, not *alicui rei.*

53. quis enim etc.: cf. Off. 1, 97 *si Aeacus aut Minos diceret 'oderint dum metuant'*; Phil. 1, 34 *in fabulis ipsi illi qui 'oderint dum metuant' dixerit.* —— **dumtaxat ad tempus**: 'but only for a season'. *Dumtaxat* in the best writers is merely corrective, introducing an exception upon some word or words preceding, here on *coluntur. Taxat* is probably a subjunctive of the lost Latin aorist (here the weak aorist) from *tangĕre* a form of *tongĕre* (*denken, think*). Oscan forms, *tangino-m, tangino-d* = *scitum, scito* (or *iussu* or *decreto*) are preserved. The formation of *taxat* will be then practically the same as that of λέξῃ. For the dropping of the nasal cf. σφίγγω, ἔσφιξα; θιγγάνω, θίξω. The original meaning of *dumtaxat* would thus be 'provided one knows the matter'. The verb *taxare* is used only in late Latin. —— **ad tem-**

pus: cf. 27 *ad quoddam tempus.* —— **si . . . tum**: n. on 25. —— **quod**: 'and this'; the sentence from *tum* to the end is really explanatory of *quod.* —— **exsulantem**: almost parenthetic; explanatory of *tum.* —— **gratiam referre**: 'to make a return'; *gratiam* here includes the notion of disservice as well as that of service. Cf. Att. 2, 9, 1 *ut sciat hic noster Hierosolymarius traductor ad plebem quam bonam meis putidissimis orationibus gratiam rettulerit;* Sull. 47 *nunc tecum sic agam, tulisse ut potius iniuriam quam rettulisse gratiam videar.*

54. illa superbia: for *illa*, 'well-known', see A. 102, *b*; G. 292, 2; H. 450, 4. For *superbia* see n. on 50 *inhumana.* —— **importunitate**: 'wrongheadedness', 'perversity'; cf. Cic. Rep. 1, 62 *non vides unius importunitate et superbia Tarquini nomen huic populo in odium venisse regium?* —— **quemquam amicum**: since the best writers do not use *quisquam* as an adjective, *amicum* must be taken as an appositive of *quemquam.* Cf. n. on C. M. 21 *quemquam senem.* —— **atque**: = καὶ μὴν, καὶ δὴ = 'now', or 'again'; so *ac* in 32. —— **multorum opes praepotentium**: n. on 30 *multae et magnae.* Note the position of *praepotentium;* put there it introduces a limitation on *multorum*, 'the power of many, I mean of those who are very powerful'. —— **non solum ipsa**: cf. Theocr. 10, 19 οὐκ αὐτὸς (not alone) τυφλὸς . . . ὁ πλοῦτος ἀλλὰ χὠφρόντιστος ἔρως, where the Scholiast quotes Menander, ὁ πλοῦτος τυφλόν, τυφλοὺς δ' ἐς αὐτὸν ἐμβλέποντας δεικνύει. Pacuvius 366 (Ribbeck) *fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi;* Plin. 2, § 22 *fortuna . . . a plerisque vero et caeca existimata.* —— **fere**: n. on 2 *tum fere.* —— **fastidio et contumacia**: the κόρος and ἄτη or ὕβρις of the Greek dramatists. Trans. 'wantonness and stiffneckedness'. Seyffert quotes a curious passage of Plin. N. H. 16, § 134 (of plants) *non omnia in omnibus locis nasci docuimus. Hoc alias fit fastidio, alias contumacia, alias imbecillitate.* —— **insipiente fortunato**: Aristot. Rhet. 2, 16 talks of the ἀνόητος εὐδαίμων. For the words cf. Qu. Fr. 1, 3, 1 *quandam effigiem spirantis mortui;* Phil. 11, 20 *nihil agenti privato;* Att. 12, 21, 5 *fortis aegroti.* On *insipiente*, 'fool', see Madvig, 301, *a*, Obs.; A. 188 and Rem.; G. 195, Rem. 1; H. 441, 2. —— **videre licet**: when used parenthetically these words passed into *videlicet*, which very word Lucret. 1, 210 uses with the ordinary construction of *videre licet.* —— **antea**: proleptic; cf. n. on 7 *reliqua.* —— **commodis**: 'affable'; *commodus* here has very much the sense of *communis* in 65; cf. Mur. 66 *quemquamne existimas Catone commodiorem, communiorem, moderatiorem fuisse ad*

omnem rationem humanitatis? Cornif. ad Herenn. 4, 25 contrasts the *commodus* with the *vir intolerabili superbia.* —— **imperio potestate**: originally *potestas* at Rome had a very wide meaning, denoting all power exercised by public authority and so including *imperium.* Then as certain officers (consul, praetor, dictator) had *imperium,* while others (censor, aedile, etc.) had not, the word *potestas* came to be particularly used in connection with the latter class of officers. Trans. 'by power and office'. —— **sperni**: the words from *sperni* to *novis* are explanatory of *immutari;* in such cases the connecting *et* is often left out — an usage called by grammarians *asyndeton explicativum.* On *novis* (*sc. amicitiis*) dat. after impers. passive, see Madvig, 244, *b*; A. 230; G. 208; H. 384, 5.

55. copiis ... opibus: 'riches, resources, prosperity'; the three words differ very little in meaning. *Plurimum posse* 'to be very influential'. —— **cetera**: proleptic.

P. 22. — **amicos**: adversative asyndeton. —— **ut ita dicam**: Cic. is apparently translating κτῆμα in such passages as Xen. Mem. 2, 4, 1 πάντων κτημάτων κράτιστον ἂν εἴη φίλος. For *ut ita dicam* in a translation cf. n. on 49 *redamare;* for the metaphor in *supellex,* Orat. 80 *oratoria quasi supellex;* Sen. Ep. 58, 18 *ideae, propria Platonis supellex;* Acad. 2, 31 and Sen. Ep. 2, 5, 8 *vitae instrumentum.* —— **eius**: A. 214, *c*; G. 365; H. 402, 403. —— **istorum**: = *istarum rerum.* —— **vicit viribus**: the alliteration is evidently intentional; cf. Mil. 30 *vi victa vis,* also Lael. 45. —— **sed haec hactenus**: a common formula for winding up one subject and passing on to another; 'but enough of this'. So Fam. 6, 2, 3.

56. constituendi sunt etc.: for *constituendum est* etc. by attraction to the construction of the clause *qui sint* etc. Cf. 63 *perspiciuntur quam sint leves;* also n. on 35 *deserere,* and De Or. 2, 137 *quaeruntur qualia sint;* ib. 243; N. D. 2, 115. Madvig on Fin. 5, 58 says this kind of attraction is used only by Cicero. —— **fines et quasi termini**: *finis* was very commonly used in the metaphorical sense, *terminus* less commonly; hence the *quasi.* —— **diligendi**: beware of taking this as nom. pl. —— **video**: See n. on 39 *videmus.* —— **ferri**: 'are usually stated'. Cf. 6 *ferrebantur.* —— **unam**: this was an opinion which the Epicureans managed to entertain. Though they based friendship on utility (Diog. Laert. 10, 120) still they said that the full benefit of friendship would not be reaped unless a man loved his friend just as himself. Cf. Fin. 1, 68 *quocirca eodem modo sapiens erit affectus erga*

amicum, quo in se ipsum; also the whole passage there from 65 to 70. —— **alteram**: this is the opinion of those who regard friendship as a barter of services; see below, 58. —— **pariter aequaliterque**: n. on 32 *pares* etc. —— **quanti**: see n. on 37 *tanti.*

57. prorsus: goes with *nulli*, not with *assentior*; 'to none at all'. —— **faceremus** etc.: for the sense cf. 26. —— **causa amicorum**: the repetition of *causa*, which is often left out in the second place, as in 46, is no doubt due to the desire to complete the chiasmus. —— **precari**: note the omission of *aliquid*. —— **supplicare**: *sc. alicui.* —— **acerbius invehi insectari vehementius**: chiasmus. —— **non satis**: 'not very'. —— **multaeque res sunt** etc.; not for *multaeque aliae res sunt* etc., but this clause repeats and gives more exactly the general statement contained in the words *quam multa ... amicorum.* —— **viri boni** etc.: it will be seen that in this section Cicero gives a peculiar turn to the meaning of the first opinion of the three above enumerated. He takes it to imply that a man must always act with regard to his friend just as he would in his own case, but the opinion itself probably had regard not to action but to feeling and implied that love between friends should be equal. It is in this sense that Cic. himself understands the opinion in Tusc. 3, 73 *praeclarum illud est et, si quaeris, rectum quoque et verum ut eos qui nobis carissimi esse debeant aeque ac nosmet ipsos amemus.* The opinion in fact was an answer to the question discussed by Aristotle in Eth. Nic. 9, c. 8 πότερον δεῖ φιλεῖν ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα ἢ ἄλλον τινά and in the words of the next clause it *definiebat amicitiam paribus voluntatibus.*

58. definit: 'restricts friendship to an equal interchange of services and feelings'. —— **exigue et exiliter**: 'with minuteness and exactness'. —— **calculos**: properly the pebbles used in the *abacus* for counting; here 'to an account'. Cf. *faeneramur* in 31. —— **ratio acceptorum**: cf. closely 26, 31. —— **datorum**: the usual contrast to *acceptorum* in the language of Roman book-keeping is *expensorum.* The phrase *accepti expensique ratio* 'a debtor and creditor account' is common. —— **divitior**: Cic. uses this form, not *ditior*, and *divitissimus*, not *ditissimus.* —— **observare** etc.: Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 8, 7 and 8, 13, 1 lays down that there is a class of friendships καθ' ὑπεροχὴν where there cannot be an equal exchange of services.

P. 23. — acceperit: subjunc. with *quam.* A. 332, *b*; H. 502, 2. —— **neque enim** etc.: *i.e.* if the friendship be true all such fears fall to the ground. —— **excidat ... defluat ... congeratur**: the metaphors are all from measuring articles of commerce.

59. se ipse: n. on 5 *te ipse.* —— **quibusdam**: the persons here meant are the 'small-souled men' (μικρόψυχοι) described by Aristot. Eth. Nic. 4, 3, 35. —— **eum**: = *talem virum.* —— **ille**: referring to the same person to which *eum* refers. Had *ille* been left out the subject of *est* might have been taken to be *amicus* supplied from *amici* in the preceding clause. It was necessary therefore to insert a pronoun, and according to Latin usage the change from *eum* to *ille* was needed; to repeat *is* would have been unusual. The following examples are precisely similar: Sest. 7 *et ad eum filiam eius adduxit, ut ille aliquam partem maeroris sui deponeret;* Prov. Cons. 1 *quonam me animo in eos esse oportet, cuius illi salutem pro pignore tradiderunt.* So αὐτός and ἐκεῖνος often refer (in the same sentence) to the same person; *e. g.* Plato, Phaedo 111 B τὰς δὲ ὥρας αὐτοῖς κρᾶσιν ἔχειν τοιαύτην ὥστε ἐκείνους ἀνόσους εἶναι. —— **inducat spem**: cf. n. on 4 *induxi.* —— **vocem**: see n. on C. M. 27 *vox.* —— **inimiciorem amicitiae**: oxymoron; see n. on 23 *absentes adsunt.* —— **esset osurus**: the subject of the verb is the same as the unexpressed subject of the infinitive *amare;* cf. 62; 82 *ipsum.* —— **adduci**: by a common idiom, a positive verb (*dicebat*) must be supplied from *negabat* above. —— **putaretur**: *sc. dictum esse.* —— **Biante**: the saying is ascribed to Bias of Priene by Aristotle Rhet. 2, 13, 23 (whence Cic., who knew the Rhetoric well, probably took it) and Diog. Laert. 1, 87, but to Chilon, another of the Seven, by Gellius, Noct. Att. 1, 3, 30. The sentiment was put by Sophocles into the mouth of Ajax (see nn. on 45), and is repeated by Demosth. Aristoc. p. 660. —— **septem**: n. on 7. —— **impuri**: adversative asyndeton. —— **omnia... revocantis**: cf. 32 *ad voluptatem omnia referunt.* —— **amicus... ei**: n. on 39 *Aemilium Luscino.* —— **peccet**: n. on 37 *peccati.* —— **sibi**: the person meant is the same as the unexpressed subject of the infinitives *cupere* and *optare.* It is rather remarkable to find *sibi* following immediately on a verb the subject of which is a different person. —— **tamquam**: qualifies the metaphor in *ansas.* —— **ansas ad**: the usual construction is *ansam dare,* or *praebere alicuius rei.* —— **ad reprehendendum**: 'for criticism'; it is possible however that *reprehendendum* has here the literal sense 'to catch hold of' as in Acad. 2, 139 *revocat virtus vel potius reprehendit manu.*

60. comparandis: so Fin. 1, 66 *amicitias comparare.* —— **ut ne**: n. on 42 *ne.* —— **minus felices**: euphemism for *infelices;* so *minus iustae* in 61; *nec facillime* in 99. —— **ferendum**: Diog. Laert. 1, 60

quotes a saying of Solon: φίλους μὴ ταχὺ κτῶ· οὓς δ' ἂν κτήσῃ, μὴ ἀποδοκίμαζε. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 9, 3 discusses the causes which may justify the dissolution of friendships. —— **tempus**: καιρόν, an occasion.

P. 24.—61. sine ulla exceptione: attributive. —— **aut caput agatur aut fama**: for the arrangement of the words cf. n. on 8 *cum* etc. *Caput* is *status*, or condition regarding civil rights, which in the Roman Law was viewed with reference to liberty (*status libertatis*), citizenship (*status civitatis*), and domestic position (*status familiae*). See Hadley's, or Hunter's, Introd. to Roman Law. The cases alluded to are those which might lead to *deminutio capitis*, the loss of civil rights. In *fama* the reference is to trials involving *infamia* as part of the punishment which may result from them. —— **declinandum de via sit**: on the nice question of casuistry, how far one is to condone the wrong doings of a friend, Laelius is conveniently vague, as Gellius in his criticism of this passage (Noct. Att. 1, 3, 14) complains. The passage becomes the more unsatisfactory when we go back to Laelius' first principle in 18 *nisi in bonis amicitiam esse non posse*. Aristotle's discussion of the matter (Eth. Nic. 9, 4, 3) is more careful though still vague. Roman popular morality required a man to go much greater lengths in assisting a friend than would be allowed even by the popular morality of our time; this is expressed in the words *modo ne summa turpitudo sequatur*. —— **possit**: subjunctive of characteristic. *Quatenus* is here a relative adverb. Roby, 1680, 1686. —— **nec ... fama**: *i. e. propter amicum*. —— **res**: here = *publicas res*. —— **telum**: for the metaphorical use cf. the old line quoted by Cic. in Fam. 7, 16, 1: *usquequaque sapere oportet: id erit telum acerrimum*. —— **blanditiis et assentando**: it is not often that Cic. makes the gerund thus range with a noun, though the usage is exceedingly common in Tacitus and his contemporaries. Cf. Fin. 3, 34.

62. cuius ... de amicitia: 'from whom entirely proceeded the discourse concerning friendship'; *not* 'whose whole discourse was of friendship'. —— **diligentiores**: 'more painstaking', *i. e.* 'than in friendship'. —— **capras et ovis**: imitated from Xenoph. Mem. 2, 4, 4; 2, 4, 1. —— **non posse dicere**: n. on 19; cf. also 73 *potuit ... non potuit*. —— **in amicis**: asyndeton; cf. n. on 13 *tum*. —— **quasi signa quaedam et notas**: a tentative translation of the Greek σημεῖον or κριτήριον, which Cic. elsewhere renders by *iudicium* (Academ. *passim*) or *nota* merely (Acad. 2, 84); cf. also N. D. 1, 12 *certa iudicandi*

et assentiendi nota. In Xen. Mem. 2, 6 Socrates describes the signs that should lead to the choosing of a friend. —— **firmi** etc.: these adjectives describe the *vir gravis*, *gravitas* being the chief part of the ideal Roman character. —— **expertum**: acc. masc.; almost equals *expertus sis.* —— **praecurrit**: φθάνει, 'outstrips'.

63. sustinere: 'to check'; for *sustinere* 'to pull up' cf. Acad. 2, 94 *ut agitator callidus...equos sustinebo;* Att. 13, 21, 3; Fam. 9, 8, 1 *me sustinebam.* —— **utamur ... temptatis**: cf. 68 *utatur ... intractato.* Cf. Theognis 119; Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 3, 8; *utamur*, 'find'. —— **periclitatis**: used in a passive sense like *meditatus* and a large number of other deponent participles, the usage being quite common in Cicero; see n. on C. M. 4 *adeptam.* —— **perspiciuntur**: see n. on 56 *constituendi sunt qui sint fines.* —— **quam sint leves**: n. on C. M. 15. —— **movere non potuit**: 'could not have changed'. For this sense of *movere* (= *de statu movere*) cf. pro Scauro fragm. 45 *quem purpura regalis non commovit, eum Sardorum mastruca mutavit?* —— **sin vero**: a rare combination of particles; Cic. nearly always says *si vero.* —— **honores magistratus**: not essentially different from *imperia potestates*, for which see 54.

P. 25. — **obscuratum iri**: 'they think their fault will be forgotten' (*i. e.* in the blaze of their prosperity). —— **amicitia**: the repetition is made for the sake of emphasis.

64. ubi invenias: *i. e. si quaeras;* but above, *ubi inveniemus;* with the future the search is looked on as likely to take place, with the subjunctive, as not likely. —— **quid**: n. on 50. —— **haec ut omittam**: observe the fondness of Cic. for placing *ut* second word in the clause or sentence. He nearly always says *nihil ut, non ut, sic ut* and the like and not *vice versa.* —— **descendant**: cf. *descendere in certamen*, also *in causam* (Cic. Phil. 8, 4), and the similar uses with *decurrere, devenire.* —— **Ennius**: see n. on C. M. 1; also, Sellar, Roman Poets of the Republic, Ch. 4. —— **recte**: the omission of a *verbum dicendi* is particularly common in quotations. —— **amicus** etc.: the line is known only from this passage. It appears to be imitated from Euripides, Hecuba 1226 ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ σαφέστατοι φίλοι. —— **aut si ... aut**: the omission of the second *si* is awkward; possibly *cum* has fallen out after the second *aut;* cf. Fin. 2, 15 *si aut ... aut cum.* —— **in bonis rebus**: *sc. suis.* —— **contemnunt**: *sc. amicos.* —— **in malis**: *sc. amicorum.* —— **utraque in re ... in amicitia**: somewhat careless writing. —— **ex ... genere**: *sc. esse.*

65. eius: goes with *constantiae*. —— **simplicem**: 'frank', 'open'. —— **communem**: 'sociable'; cf. Nep. Milt. 8, 4 *summa humanitas, mira communitas;* so κοινός in Greek. —— **consentientem** etc.: 'sympathetic'. —— **par est**: = *aequum est* in 26. Cf. 82. —— **fidelitatem**: = *fides* above. —— **multiplex**: here 'deceitful', but often a word of praise, as in Acad. 1, 17 *Platonis qui varius et multiplex* ('many-sided') *et copiosus fuit*. Cf. Plato Repub. 397 E διπλοῦς ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲ πολλαπλοῦς, where πολλαπλοῦς has the same meaning as *multiplex* in our passage. Cf. also below 88. —— **tortuosum**: this word is generally used of complicated logical arguments, as in Acad. 2, 98; cf. Tusc. 3, 22 *contortius;* ib. 2, 42 *contortis conclusiunculis*. —— **neque vero**: n. on 42. —— **inferendis...oblatis**: chiasmus. —— **fit**: 'is shown to be'. —— **quod...dixi**: in 18.

P. 26. — **boni viri...sapientem**: cf. 18, 100. —— **fictum...simulatum**: the same words in 26. —— **aperte vel odisse**: 'to go openly the length of hatred'; for *vel* cf. 43 *vel bellum*. —— **ingenui**: here in the same sense as in Vergil's line *ingenui voltus puer ingenuique pudoris* — 'frank'. —— **occultare**: stronger than *celare;* implies deliberate and habitual concealment. —— **semper...violatum**: the clause is an explanation of the one word *suspiciosum*.

66. suavitas: cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 6, 1. —— **in omni re**: attributive. —— **illa quidem**: see n. on 41 *is quidem*.

67. quaestio: here like the ἀπορία of Aristotle, a problem to be solved. —— **vetulis**: this word usually expresses something of contempt, as when applied to a woman (*vetula*). —— **indigna homine dubitatio**: in apposition to all of the sentence that precedes; cf. 71 *odiosum genus;* 79 *rarum genus*. —— **veterrima quaeque**: n. on 34 *optimis quibusque*. For the comparison cf. C. M. 65 *sic se res* etc. —— **quod dicitur**: n. on 19 *crassa Minerva*. —— **modios salis**: cf. Eth. Nic. 8, 3, 8; Eth. Eudem. 7, 2. —— **ut...sit**: *i. e.* to achieve friendship.

68. spem afferunt ut: cf. n. on *verum est ut* in 50. —— **herbis**: here = the green shoots of corn. Seyffert quotes Ov. Her. 17, 263 *sed nimium properas et adhuc tua messis in herba est*. —— **fallacibus**: so Horace, Od. 3, 1, 30 calls an unproductive farm *mendax*. Cf. also Tibullus, 2, 1, 19 *et seges eludit messem fallacibus herbis*. —— **fructus appareat**: *sc. futurus*. —— **illae quidem**: see above, 66. —— **vetustatis**: *vetustas* is often used alone for *vetustas amicitiae;* cf. Acad. 1, 1 *vetustate amicitiae coniunctum* with Fam. 13, 32, 2 *vetustate*

coniunctos; so below, 74. —— **ipso equo**: 'even in the case of the horse'. —— **quin**: A. 319, *d*; G. 556, Rem. 6, 550, Rem. 3; H. 504, 1. —— **quo consuevit**: *sc. uti.* —— **montuosis etiam**: the ancients generally felt little or no admiration for wild and mountainous scenery. Cicero had more feeling for wild picturesqueness than most Romans.

69. maximum: = *caput est* in 45; cf. 29 *quod maius est.* —— **superiorem** etc.: *superiorem* is explained by 70 *praestantiam virtutis, ingeni, fortunae.* Cf. 32 *sintque pares in amore et aequales;* also 56. Like Cicero, Aristotle accepts equality as essential to the highest kind of friendship, as in Eth. Nic. 8, 5, 5 λέγεται φιλότης ἡ ἰσότης; 8, 7, 3 ἰσότης, ὃ δὴ τῆς φιλίας εἶναι δοκεῖ. He discusses elaborately the question how this equality is to be understood and secured in friendships of different kinds, but he admits that there are friendships, such as that of parents for children, in which it cannot be secured (8, 13, 1 τῶν μὲν ἐν ἰσότητι φίλων ὄντων τῶν δὲ καθ' ὑπεροχήν).

P. 27. — **excellentiae quaedam**: 'certain superiorities' = ὑπεροχαί τινες; cf. 73 *quamvis excellas;* Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 13, 1. —— **grege**: the word *grex* was often applied to philosophical schools, as in De Or. 1, 42 *philosophorum greges*, with which cf. Acad. 1, 34 *Polemo et Crates unaque Crantor in Academia congregati.* Trans. 'in our flock. if I may so call it'. For *ut ita dicam* used like *quasi, tamquam, quidam* etc. to qualify expressions either too strong or unusual cf. 49 with n. —— **Philo ... Rupilio ... Mummio**: see Introd. p. v. —— **Maximum**: *i. e. Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus*, the eldest son of Paulus Macedonicus, and adopted into the family of the Fabii. Africanus gave up to him his share in the inheritance of their common father. See Paradoxa 48 *liberalitatem Africani qui (Pauli) hereditatis Q. Maximo fratri partem suam concessit.* —— **omnino**: here = 'no doubt', 'indeed', 'it is true'; so in 98, where however the contrast is introduced by *autem*, as in C. M. 45 by *sed*, and in C. M. 28, Tusc. 2, 35 by *sed tamen.* —— **is**: the insertion of a pronoun was necessary, otherwise the subject to *anteibat* might have been supposed to be Africanus, supplied from *sibi.* —— **suosque omnis** etc.: see 11 *liberalitate in sorores.*

70. si: note *si* followed by *si*, the suppositions being parallel, and not contrasted with each other. Had they been contrasted *sive — sive* or *si — sin* would have been needed. In one sentence in Livy (4, 5, 5) *si* is thus eight times repeated. —— **imbecilliore animo vel fortuna**: these are the persons mentioned in 59 *in quibusdam ... fractior.* ——

opes ... dignitati: chiasmus, since *opes* refers to *fortuna*, *honori et dignitati* to *animo*. If one's friend is *imbecillo animo* (*μικρόψυχος*), *i. e.* thinking meanly of himself, one must try to confer distinction on him; if he is poor, wealth. —— **honori**: n. on 15 *cordi*. —— **fabulis**: 'legends', such as that of Romulus and Remus, to which the words *deorum — pastores* rather point. —— **ignorationem**: some of the inferior MSS. have *ignorantiam*, a word which is now found in only one passage of Cicero in good editions, viz. Acad. 1, 42, and even there it cannot but be suspected, as we now possess no MS. of that portion of Cicero older than the fifteenth century. The only other passages in good prose where *ignorantia* occurs are Caes. B. C. 3, 68, 2 and Nep. Ages. 8, 5; Pelop. 1, 1. —— **stirpis et generis**: 'stock and family'; the only difference being that *stirpis* is the wider word of the two. How slight the difference is may be seen from the following passages: Verg. Aen. 4, 622 *stirpem et genus omne futurum exercete odiis*; ib. 8, 628 *illic genus omne futurae stirpis ab Ascanio*; ib. 9, 603 *durum ab stirpe genus*; Seneca, Oedip. 124 *stirpis invictae genus interimus*; Attius 208 (Ribbeck) *summum periclum contaminari stirpem ac misceri genus*. —— **famulatu**: = *θητείᾳ*, free service, as opposed to *servitute* = *δουλείᾳ*.

71. coniunctionisque: the *coniunctio* is the natural association produced by kinship and the like, mentioned in 19. —— **superiores**: for the construction *superior esse in aliqua re* cf. pro Balbo 35 *in foedere inferior*. —— **non dolere**: the true friendships, Aristotle says, are free from offence (*ἀδιάβλητοι*, Eth. Nic. 8, 6, 7; *ἀνέγκλητοι*, ib. 9, 2, 7). —— **queant**: *queo* is rarely used in affirmative sentences by good writers, but the usage is well attested within narrow limits; cf. Tusc. 5, 108; C. M. 32; De Rep. 2, 6; also found in Sallust and Columella. See n. on C. M. 32. —— **odiosum genus**: in apposition with *plerique*; cf. 67, 79. —— **officia exprobrantium**: Seyffert quotes Demosth. De Cor. 316 *νομίζω ... ὀνειδίζειν*; Ter. Andr. 1, 1, 16 *nam istaec commemoratio quasi exprobratio et immemoris benefici*; Seneca, De Beneficiis 2, 10, 4 *inter prima praecepta et maxime necessaria sit, ne umquam exprobrem, immo ne admoneam quidem. Haec enim beneficii inter duos lex est: alter statim oblivisci debet dati, alter accepti numquam*. **commemorare**: n. on 15.

72. submittere: *i. e.* 'to be modest'. —— **sic etc.**: *i. e. sic debent ei qui superiores sunt extollere eos qui sunt inferiores*.

P. 28. — contemni: 'slighted' or 'neglected'. *Contemnere* is

hardly ever so strong in meaning as our word 'despise', which is commonly used to translate it. See n. on C. M. 43 *spreta et contempta.* —— **contingit**: n. on 8. —— **qui**: 'and they'.

73. ille: *sc. possit.* —— **non ... neque**: cf. n. on 10. There is a slight anacoluthon, the form of the sentence being changed; for the proper clause introduced by a second *neque* the clauses introduced by *ut* are substituted. Cf. n. on 45 *partim.* The unemphatic *tu* should be noticed; it is our English 'you' for 'one'. —— **excellas**: cf. *excellentiae* in 69. —— **perducere**: *i. e.* through all the various grades. *Producere* (which some editions have) is simply 'to advance', without the notion of gradation. —— **potuit ... non potuit**: cf. n. on 19. In Tusc. 4, 40 Rupilius is said to have taken his brother's defeat greatly to heart; and Pliny, Nat. Hist. 7, § 122 enlarges the story by making him die immediately on hearing the result of the election. —— **efficere**: *facere* would not do here, since *facere aliquem consulem* means 'to vote for some one's election as consul'.

74. corroboratis ... aetatibus: the *confirmata* or *corroborata aetas* is the time of life immediately succeeding youth, the **καθεστηκυῖα ἡλικία** of Thucydides; cf. pro Caelio 41 *qua varietate non modo haec aetas sed iam corroborata caperetur.* The opposite expression is *infirmissimum tempus aetatis* in Acad. 2, 9; Flacc. 5. —— **habere**: the construction is carried on as though *oportet iudicare de amicitiis* or something similar had preceded; old edd. indeed insert *oportet*, which is unnecessary. In Fin. 2, 103 *quod si dies notandus fuit, eumne potius quo natus an eum quo sapiens factus est* the words *oportet notare* have to be supplied from *notandus.* In his n. there Madvig excellently illustrates the usage both from Latin and from Greek. —— **isto modo**: 'on that principle'. —— **nutrices et paedagogi**: at Rome these were generally slaves. —— **vetustatis**: n. on 68. —— **quidem**: here concessive, 'I admit', as in 13. —— **alio quodam modo**: n. on 6. —— **mores** etc.: *mores* is probably in the accusative, not, as Lahm. suggests, in the nominative = *homines disparibus moribus; homines sequuntur studia* is certainly not Latin. For the *morum similitudo* as a necessary condition of friendship cf. 15, 27, 33 (*mutari ... mores*), 50; also Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 8, 1, 6; 8, 3, 6; 8, 8, 5; 9, 3, 3. —— **boni ... possunt**: cf. 18. —— **nisi quod**: used after negative statements to introduce a limitation or exception. Madvig, 442, *c*, Obs. 3; G. 592, Rem. 3; H. 555, III. 1. —— **distantia**: a *vox Ciceroniana.* The word is in good Latin never used of distance in space. Aristotle several times dis-

cusses the question how great a difference in character or other circumstances is required to render friendships impossible. Cf. Eth. Nic. 8, 7, 4.

75. quaedam: n. on 6 *alio quodam*. —— **nec enim**: followed by *et saepe* instead of *nec*; for the slight anacoluthon cf. 79, 104. —— **fabulas**: n. on 70; cf. Off. 3, 94 *ut redeamus ad fabulas*. —— **Neoptolemus**: or Pyrrhus, son of Achilles by Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes, king of Scyros. He appears in the Philoctetes as an ambassador to that hero, without whose bow it was fated Troy should not fall. Welcker thinks that Cicero here refers to a scene in a lost play of Sophocles entitled *αἱ Σκύριαι*. —— **impedientem**: see n. on C. M. 11 *dividenti*.

P. 29. — mollisque: the *que* merely connects *infirmus* with *mollis* and does not correspond with the first *et*. In Cicero and the best writers *et* and *que* do not correspond. Trans. 'is not only weak and effeminate, but also . . .'. —— **parum iustus**: 'far from reasonable'; *parum* almost = *non*, as *minus* in 23.

b. Friendships of Common People. 76–100.

76. atque . . . impetrari: this is a little summary of 73–75. Such summaries are often introduced by *atque* = 'now', as in Acad. 1, 42. —— **in omni re**: 'on every occasion'. —— **iam enim etc.**: the *verae amicitiae* or *perfectae* are *sempiternae*; see 32 and Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 3, 7. The question of the dissolution of friendships was partially discussed in 32 *seq.* and is considered by Aristotle in Eth. Nic. 9, 3. —— **sapientium**: = *virorum bonorum* as defined in 21. —— **volgaris amicitias**: these differ only in degree from the *verae amicitiae*, being based on a less degree of *virtus*, since *virtus a caritate volgi non abhorret* (50), hence they must not be confounded with the *φιλίαι* based on *τὸ ἡδύ* and *τὸ ὠφέλιμον* which Aristotle so often discusses. These latter friendships Cicero refuses to deal with; see 58 etc. —— **oratio delabitur**: so 100 *oratio defluxit*; cf. Qu. Fr. 1, 1, 18 *ad praecipiendi rationem delapsa est oratio mea*. For the sense also 100 is to be compared. —— **tum . . . tum**: here purely temporal, 'at one time, at another'. —— **alienos**: n. on 19. —— **quorum**: = *talium ut*. —— **usus**: = *consuetudinis*, *κοινωνίας*, as in 32; cf. 2 *utebare multum*. —— **eluendae**: the word *eluere*, lit. 'to wipe out', is particularly used of disgrace or crime; *e.g.* *eluere maculam* in Sest. 63; Verr. 5, 121;

scelus in Verg. Aen. 6, 742. —— **ut Catonem dicere audivi**: 'as I have been told Cato used to say', not 'as I have heard Cato say' which would require *dicentem* or *cum diceret.* See ref. on C. M. 3 *admirantis.* —— **dissuendae** etc.: cf. Off. 1, 120 *amicitias magis decere censent sapientes sensim diluere quam repente praecidere;* below, 78 *exstinctae potius quam oppressae.* Observe *magis* in the one place and *potius* in the other, for which cf. n. on 27. —— **exarserit**: from *exardescere,* the verb *exardere* occurring only in very late Latin, as in the Vulgate. The metaphorical use is exceedingly common in Cicero; cf. 29. —— **statim**: cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 9, 3, 2.

77. aut morum aut studiorum: the first *aut* corresponds to *aut* before *in rei publicae.* It is exceedingly likely that the second *aut* should be changed into *et;* cf. 74 *morum studiorumque.* —— **commutatio...solet**: 33 *mutari etiam mores hominum saepe.* —— **in rei publicae partibus**: *i.e.* 'in connection with political parties'. —— **communibus**: = *volgaribus* in 76. —— **Q. Pompei** etc.: the grandfather of the Pompeius mentioned in 2; he raised himself to the consulship as a *novus homo* in 141 B.C. (Brut. 96; Verr. 5, 181). Laelius was a candidate and Pompeius was said to have promised Scipio that he would not stand himself but support Laelius. —— **Metello**: *i.e. Macedonico,* the praetor of 148, who commanded in Greece till 146, when he returned and was the leader of the anti-Scipionic party. The quarrel, which was very famous, began with the despatch of Mummius, who was connected with the Scipios, to command in Achaia. Metellus became consul in 143 after two failures, and commanded against Viriathus. In 131 he was censor and lived till 115. He was an augur; hence *collega* of Laelius. —— **et**: this does not correspond with *ac,* but *graviter ac moderate* go together and form one expression. *Et* and *ac* do not correspond in Cic.; cf. n. on 75 *mollisque.*

78. quam ob rem...iniuriam: these sentences summarize and emphatically repeat the sense of the two preceding sections. —— **ut exstinctae** etc.: cf. C. M. 71.

P. 30. — **quae**: agrees with the last only of the three words *iurgia, maledicta, contumeliae.* —— **honos...tribuendus**: so Aristot. Eth. Nic. 9, 3, 5. —— **omnino**: here = 'to sum up'; 'looking at the matter as a whole'. —— **una cautio est**: for the form of expression cf. Acad. 2, 51 *omnium inanium visorum una depulsio est.* In both passages the verbal noun in *-tio* conveys the notion of possibility. —— **ut ne**: see n. on 42. —— **non dignos**: put for *indignos,* apparently because of *digni autem* following.

79. quibus in ipsis: probably not put for *in quibus ipsis; quibus* is rather a *dativus commodi.* —— **rarum genus**: cf. n. on 67 *indigna homine dubitatio*; Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 8, 3, 8. —— **omnia praeclara rara**: the omission of the copula is particularly common in proverbs, where also assonance (*praecl-ara r-ara*) is much sought after. For the ellipsis cf. Acad. 1, 18 *sus Minervam* (*docet*); Pis. 69 *claudus pilam* (*iacit*). So in Greek χαλεπὰ τὰ καλά. —— **in suo genere perfectum**: so Tusc. 5, 37 *natura quidquid genuit... in suo quidque genere perfectum esse voluit.* —— **amicos tamquam pecudes**: the same comparison is used by Plato in the Theaetetus 174 D. Cf. the trite line of Ovid, Pont. 2, 3, 8 *volgus amicitias utilitate probat.*

80. naturali: cf. 31, 32. See n. on 4 *maxime memorabilem.* —— **expetita**: n. on 22 *quae expetuntur.* —— **haec vis**: *i. e. vis huius naturalis amicitiae.* —— **et... et**: after the negative (*nec*) *aut... aut* would have been more usual. Cf. *que* for *sed* in 30. —— **quod... idem**: these words go together, as in 13. —— **alter idem**: cf. 23 *verum amicum qui intuetur, tamquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui;* Arist. Eth. Nic. 9, 4, 5; Fam. 2, 15, 4 *alterum me.*

81. bestiis etc.: for the arrangement of the epithets in two groups, one of three and another of two, Nauck well compares Tusc. 1, 64 *omnia, supera infera, prima media ultima.* Nägelsbach quotes Fam. 13, 29, 5. —— **se ipsae** etc.: the principle that self-preservation is the first instinct of animals formed the starting-point of the Stoic Ethics. Cf. Fin. 3, 16, *seq.* —— **pariter... nascitur**: 'is born with every creature in an equal degree'. —— **misceat**: subjunctive of purpose. —— **unum ex duobus**: cf. 92 *ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus.*

82. ne dicam: the phrase is elliptic = *hoc dico ne dicam*, and *impudenter*, which may be regarded as in inverted commas, stands as ob ject of *dicam.* Cf. n. on 48 *dico.* —— **habere talem amicum** etc.. the theory that friendship is based on want of resemblance and not on resemblance is found in Plato's Lysis 215 C *seq.* Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 8, 8, 6 *seq.* decides that it is almost entirely the lower kind of friendship which is based on lack of resemblance.

P. 31. — **par est... quaerere**: cf. 32, 51. —— **ipsum**: in agreement with *aliquem* unexpressed. Cf. 59 *ut si* (*quis*) *esset osurus.* —— **quam... tractamus**: cf. 65 *eam quam iam dudum tracto constantiam.* **cupiditatibus**: those mentioned in 61, 62 as frequently bringing destruction to friendships. —— **aequitate iustitiaque**: *aequitas* is the

view of justice taken by a man of high principle and honor, *iustitia* the legal or technical view. —— **neque quicquam** etc.: cf. 36–40. —— **inter se**: = *alter alterum*; cf Roby, 2306; A. 99, *d*; G. 212; H. 448, n.

83. virtutum ... comes: Aristot. Eth. Nic. 8, 1, 1; Plato, Lysis 214 D. Beier quotes Pythagoras' saying *συνδεσμὸν πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν εἶναι τὴν φιλίαν*. Cf. 19. —— **a natura data est**: in Cic. *a natura* and *natura dari* both frequently occur. In the former phrase *natura* is personified, in the latter *natura* is used adverbially = *φύσει*. —— **solitaria**: cf. 30, 87, 88. —— **ea quae summa sunt**: 'the highest moral views'; cf. Arch. 14. —— **altera**: as *virtus* above = *homo virtute praeditus*; so *altera* here = *alterius hominis virtute*. Cf. *virtutem* in 48. —— **quos inter**: as a rule, only dissyllabic prepositions follow the cases to which they are attached, except when some attribute is attached to the noun or pronoun, *e. g. multis in rebus* below, 85. Cf. Roby, 1038; A. 263, n.; G. 414, Rem. 2; H. 569, II. 1.

84. honestas ... iucunditas: the enumeration consists of three branches, the last of the three being subdivided (*tranquillitas atque iucunditas*). Had *iucunditas* and *tranquillitas* occupied in the enumeration the same place as the other two things mentioned, Cicero must have left out *atque*. See n. on 12. For *expetenda* see n. on 22; for the collocation *tranquillitas animi atque iucunditas*, n. on 8 *cum summi viri tum amicissimi*. —— **ut et ... possit**: this clause seems to contain a tacit protest against the Stoic ethics which made *honestas* (*τὸ καλόν* = virtue) everything; Laelius asserts that perfect happiness (for *beata vita* cf. n. on 45 *beate vivendum*) contains other things as well, and that the perfection of friendship and the perfection of happiness are inextricably connected. —— **quod**: this refers back to the last sentence and not forwards to *id*. —— **experiri**: cf. 53, 64. Seyffert quotes from Plutarch a saying of Euripides *τὸ φίλων πεῖραν λαβεῖν οὐ σμικρὸν κακόν*, and from Stobaeus one of Philemon *εὔχου μὴ λαβεῖν πεῖραν φίλων*.

85. cum ... iudicaris: these words can be shown to be taken from Theophrastus *περὶ φιλίας* (see Introd.), for Plutarch *περὶ φιλαδελφείας* c. 8 quotes as from Theophrastus the words *τοὺς γὰρ ἀλλοτρίους οὐ φιλοῦντα δεῖ κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ κρίναντα φιλεῖν*; so Sen. Ep. 3 *isti vero praepostere officia permiscent qui contra praecepta Theophrasti cum amaverint iudicant, et non amant, cum iudicaverint*. Ammianus Marcellinus 26, 2, 9 puts Cicero's words, slightly altered, into the mouth of Valentinian,

in a **speech made by him on being raised to the throne. —— tum maxime** etc.: cf. 62.

P. 82. — acta agimus: an oxymoron (so 'to slay the slain') for which Seyffert compares Plaut. Mil. 3, 1, 41 *nota noscere;* Poen. 4, 2, 48 *doctum docere;* Cic. Fam. 14, 1, 5 *puerum perditum perdere.* As to the proverb, Donatus on Terent. Adelph. 2, 2, 24 not improbably conjectures that it originated in the law courts, *ubi quod semel iudicatum est frustra iterum agitur.* Cf. n. on 23 *absentes adsunt.* —— **vetamur**: *sc. facere.* —— **ultro et citro**: here = 'mutually', as in the common phrase *data ultro citroque fide* (Liv. 29, 23, 5). —— **cursu**: cf. 63.

86. una: by attraction for *unum* ('the one thing'; for this usage see nn. on 50 *qui*, 18 *eam.* —— **quamquam**: elliptic, the full sense being 'most men agree about virtue yet etc.' —— **multis**: chiefly the Epicureans. —— **quam multi** etc.: not exactly in accord with 63 *ubi eos inveniemus* etc. Observe *quam multi;* no good writers use *quot* as a substantive. So in 57 *quam multa.* Cic. however often prefers to use *quam multi*, *tam multi* where *quot*, *tot* would be permissible; so 35 *haec ita multa quasi fata.* —— **ad unum**: 'to a man'. —— **et ei ... et ei**: those who follow the πολιτικὸς βίος and those who follow the θεωρητικὸς βίος. One of the main questions which divided the later Greek philosophers was that of the comparative value of these two lives. Cf. n. on 10 *huius facta* etc. —— **otiosi**: here, as often, implies merely the freedom from public duties; cf. 16. —— **vitiam esse nullam**: for the phrase cf. n. on 22 *vita vitalis;* for this Epicurean opinion cf. n. on 56 —— **liberaliter**: = *libero digne;* cf. 89.

87. serpit: n. on 41. —— **Timonem**: the misanthrope (μισάνθρωπος) a contemporary of Socrates, the subject of Shakspere's well-known play. He is also the subject of one of Lucian's most famous dialogues. —— **nescio quem**: Cicero often inserts *quidam*, *nescio quis* and the like, when it is necessary, in mentioning some Greek, to avoid the appearance of too great a familiarity with Greek literature. The Roman statesmen of the dialogue could not be presumed to know Timon except by vague report. In telling a story of Xenocrates to a Roman jury (who objected to Greek learning in an advocate), Cicero calls him *quidam* (Balb. § 12); so of the Stoics *non nulli litteris ac studiis doctrinae dediti* (Balb. § 1). *Nescio quem* here has the same purpose as *ut opinor* below, 88. Cf. n. on 24 *doctum quendam;* also ref. on C. M. 82 *nescio quo modo.* —— **possit**: potential subjunctive

—— **evomat**: the metaphorical use is common, as in *eructare*, *ἐξεμεῖν*.

P. 33. — **tam esset ferreus**: for the arrangement n. on 10 *quam id recte;* for *ferreus* cf. 48, and for the sense Aristotle, Politics 1, 2, 14.

88. commemorare: cf. n. on 76 *ut...audivi*. For a similar traditional saying of Archytas see C. M. 39 and n.; cf. ib. 43 *saepe audivi a maioribus* etc. —— **illam**: = *eius rei;* cf. n. on 2 *eum sermonem*. —— **quae fuisset**: Nauck takes these words as being those of Laelius, and not part of his report of Archytas; otherwise, he says, Cic. would have written *quam fore*. —— **si aliquem**: n. on 27. —— **semperque**: see n. on 21 *virosque*. —— **tamquam**: so in 45. —— **una illa** etc.: 'there is one grievance to which we are to submit'. For the explanatory *nam* succeeding *illa* cf. N. D. 2, 138 *illa potius explicetur incredibilis fabrica naturae: nam* etc.; also Madvig on Fin. 5, 86. —— **et monendi... et obiurgandi**: so 44 *et adhibeatur...postulabit;* below, 89 *monitio...obiurgatio*. —— **accipienda**: n. on 40.

89. familiaris meus: Terence; cf. Introd. pp. iii., iv. —— **obsequium** etc: Terent. Andr. 1, 1, 41 (l. 68). *Obsequium* here in a bad sense = flattery; often however used in the good sense of 'deference', as below. For the metre of the line see C. M. 25 and nn. —— **siquidem**: 'inasmuch as'. —— **fraudem**: often means, as here, 'harm', 'injury'. On the sense cf. Off. 1, 91. —— **habenda** etc.: Cicero says both *habere rationem* and *adhibere rationem* (Leg. Agr. 2, 2) but only *adhibere diligentiam*, so that there is here a slight zeugma (unless *adhibenda* is to be substituted for *habenda*). —— **monitio**: said to occur only here in Cicero, who commonly uses *admonitio*.

P. 34. — **in obsequio**: 'in the payment of deference'. —— **adiutrix**: n. on 37 *conciliatrix*. —— **non modo...sed ne quidem**: see n. on C. M. 34. —— **libero**: adjective for substantive. The edd. say that the use is rendered permissible by the proximity of *amico*, but the phrase *libero dignus* is commonly used without any such restraint; *e.g.* De Or. 1, 17, 72; cf. also ib. 137 *id quod est homine ingenuo liberaliterque educato dignum*. See ref. on 54 *insipienti*. —— **tyranno**: cf. 52 *tyrannorum vita*.

90. cuius autem etc.: Cicero was very likely thinking of Hesiod's lines, Works and Days 293, *et seq.* —— **scitum**: 'a neat saying'. Cf. Div. 2, 51 *vetus illud Catonis admodum scitum est*. —— **illud Catonis**: like *τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος* etc. in Greek. —— **ut multa**: cf. Fin. 1, 7 *facete is quidem sicut alia*. —— **non capiunt... capiunt**: n. on 19 *non potest*.

—— **quod contra**: *quod* is merely a connecting link between the clauses, like the 'which' in vulgar English and ὃ sometimes in Thucydides and Plato at the beginning of sentences or clauses; the use is the same as that in *quod si* at the beginning of a clause or sentence. Cf. C. M. 84 and n.

91. proprium est amicitiae: n. on 26. —— **libere**: n. on 44. —— **sic habendum est**: *sic* corresponds with *ut*; 'as...so we must consider that etc.' —— **pestem**: cf. 34 *pestem...amicitiis.* —— **adulationem blanditiam assentationem**: 'fawning, wheedling, and flattery'. *Adulatio* is the worst fault, and corresponds to the Greek κολακεία: cf. Tac. Hist. 1, 1, 4 *adulationi foedum crimen servitutis inest*; Cic. uses it of dogs in N. D. 2, 158 *canum...tam amans dominorum adulatio. Blanditia* is more like the Greek 'αρεσκεία, an excessive desire to please. This is one of many words commonly used only in the plural, but by Cic. also in the singular; in 61 *blanditiis. Assentatio* is the fault of those *qui omnia ad voluntatem loquuntur*; 98. —— **multis nominibus**: cf. Fin. 3, 14 *erit enim notius quale sit pluribus notatum vocabulis idem declarantibus.* —— **levium**: the opposite would be *constantium.* —— **voluptatem**: cf. Orator 38 *ad voluptatem aurium scribere*; De Or. 3, 177; also πρὸς ἡδονὴν λέγειν.

92. iudicium veri: 'our power to judge of truth'. Cic. often uses *iudicium veri* in another sense to translate the Greek κριτήριον τοῦ ἀληθοῦς; cf. Acad. 2, 29. —— **idque**: *id* = *verum*, not *iudicium veri.* —— **valere non potest**: 'can have no meaning'. Cf. 19 *nomen amicitiae tollitur.* —— **amicitiae vis**: cf. 15 etc. —— **qui**: adv. as in C. M. 4. —— **quoque**: this is *quōque* not *quŏque.* For the sense cf. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 9, 4, 8; Plato, Lysis 214 C.

93. devium: 'erratic'. —— **convertitur**: De Or. 3, 177 *orationis genus ad omnem aurium voluptatem et animorum motum mutatur et vertitur.*

P. 35. — **negat quis**: this is no hypothesis; *i.e.* it must not be supposed that there is an ellipsis of *si*; there is rather a picture of very common occurrences in Gnatho's life; 'a man says no, I say no' etc. The line is in the Eunuchus of Terence, 2, 2, 21. For the metre see C. M. 20 and nn. —— **omnia**: used adverbially. —— **persona**: n. on 4. —— **quod genus amici**: = *amicum cuius generis*; n. on 4.

94. cum: concessive. —— **loco**: 'origin'; *i. e. loco quo nati sunt.* **vanitatem**: lit. 'emptiness'; *i. e.* 'worthlessness'.

95. secerni...internosci: for the arrangement of the words see n.

on 8 *cum summi* etc. Plutarch wrote a tract entitled πῶς ἄν τις διακρίνειε κόλακα τοῦ φίλου. —— **imperitissimis**: superlative adjective as substantive; so often in Cicero *familiarissimi, inimicissimi, iniquissimi.* The substantival use of the comparative adjective scarcely occurs. Seyffert quotes Xen. Mem. 3, 7, 5 where Socrates calls the voters in the Athenian ecclesia ἀφρονεστάτους καὶ ἀσθενεστάτους. —— **inter ... et inter**: the repetition of the preposition is not required by modern idiom; it is adopted here for the sake of clearness. Cf. n. on 11 *de pietate* etc.

96. C. Papirius etc.: in 130 B.C. Carbo (see n. on 39) proposed a law *ut eundem tribunum plebi quotiens vellet creare liceret* (Livy, Epit. 59). The proposal failed, but at some date before 123 B.C. a law was carried which allowed the re-election of outgoing tribunes when the number of candidates was not sufficient to fill all the places (Appian, Bell. Civ. 1, 21). —— **influebat**: so *irrepere, illabi* and *insinuare* (below, 99) are often used. Cf. Off. 2, 31 *in universorum animos tamquam influere;* Fin. 1, 39 *si ea sola voluptas esset quae quasi titillaret sensus ut ita dicam et ad eos cum suavitate afflueret et illaberetur.* —— **ferret**: here 'was trying to carry'; so *transferebatur* below. A. 277, *c*; G. 224; H. 469, 1. —— **nihil de me** etc.: Acad. 2, 66 *non de me sed de sapiente;* De Or. 3, 74 *non de memet ipso sed de oratore.* —— **ducem ... comitem**: Scipio appeared to be the leader of the nation, though then not a magistrate but only a *homo privatus.* —— **est in manibus**: see n. on C. M. 12 —— **popularis ... populi**: intentional contrast. —— **Q. Maximo**: n. on 69. —— **et L. Mancino**: the insertion of *et* is due to the interposition of the words *fratre Scipionis:* otherwise Cic. would have written *Q. Maximo L. Mancino consulibus.* L. Hostilius Mancinus served in the third Punic war, and was one of the first who entered Carthage when it was stormed. He is said to have gained the consulship by having war-scenes painted and exhibited in the forum, where he attended and explained the pictures to the multitude (Plin. Nat. Hist. 35, § 23). —— **quam ... videbatur**: notice the indicative; *meministis* is regarded as parenthetical. —— **lex ... Crassi**: C. Licinius Crassus, tribune in 145, proposed to make election to all priesthoods go by popular vote. When a vacancy occurred in a priestly college the remaining members filled up the vacancy as they pleased. A measure like that of Crassus was carried in 104 by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a tribune. In opposing the law of Crassus, Laelius (whose oration is mentioned in Brut. 83; N. D. 3, 5 and

43, in which last passage it is called *aureola*) maintained that the state had no right to control the order of religious observance. A curious method was adopted to get over this objection. The election to priesthoods was at an assembly of a minority (17) of the 35 tribes, the particular tribes which took part in it being determined by lot. While, theoretically, a resolution of the minority of the nation had no binding effect, and therefore could not be offensive to the gods, still in practice the colleges were bound to appoint the persons so nominated, though the form of *cooptatio* was gone through. The colleges of priests had great influence in politics, hence the aristocrats desired to keep the offices in their own hands. —— **ad populi beneficium**: magistracies are often called *beneficia populi Romani.* —— **primus instituit etc.**: the interpretation of this passage is difficult. Plutarch, Life of C. Gracchus, c. 5, tells the tale of C. Gracchus, and assigns to the act a democratic purpose. Our passage certainly seems to countenance Plutarch in this, but Lange, Römische Alterthümer II², 443, denies that the act had any political aim. He connects it with a change in the voting at public assemblies. This originally took place in the *comitium*, which formed a small part of what was ordinarily called the *forum*. Lange thinks that when the voting was transferred from the *comitium* to the *saepta* (enclosures) the speakers naturally turned their backs on the *comitium* and faced the *saepta*, the *rostra* being placed between them. The matter is far from clear, and Lange's explanation seems scarcely to be consistent with this passage. —— **agere cum populo**: the technical phrase for the laying of matters before the people in their assemblies. —— **vendibilem**: 'plausible'; lit. 'salable'. So Brut. 174 *vendibilis orator;* Fin. 1, 12 *nam ut sint illa vendibiliora, haec uberiora certe sunt.* —— **praetore me**: as the regular age for the praetorship was 40, Laelius was probably born about 186 B. C. —— **re... auctoritate**: since Laelius was not consul, he carried his case on its merits and not from the *auctoritas* conferred by office, which was then not *summa*.

P. 36. — 97. adumbratis: *adumbrare* is 'to give in outline, or incompletely'; the reference here is to misleading the people, not by actual lies, but by partial presentation of the truth, *quod valet si modo illustratum est.* —— **illustratum**: contrasts exactly with *adumbratis* above. —— **tota**: *totā* not *totă*. —— **perpenditur**: 'is judged'. *Perpendere* is here the equivalent of *metiri* in 21; the ablative construction similarly follows on *metiri* there and on *iudicare* in 74. ——

ut dicitur: n. on 19. —— **exploratum habeas**: n. on 52 *habent cognitam.* —— **amare ... amari**: objects of *habeas. Id* refers to both verbs *amare* and *amari.* For *id quam vere fiat*, cf. *quam id recte faciam* in 10, and *quamvis honeste id facerent* in 35. *Id* is object of *ignores*, not subject of *fiat.* —— **quamquam**: = καίτοι, 'and yet'; so 29, 33 and often. —— **patefaciat**: so Off. 1, 91 *cavendum est ne assentatoribus patefaciamus auris, neve adulari nos sinamus, in quo falli facile est. Tales enim nos esse putamus, ut iure laudemur.* —— **se ... ipse**: n. on 5 *te ipse.*

98. **omnino**: n. on 69. —— **virtutis opinione**: 'supposed virtue'. The same phrase occurs in a different sense in 37. —— **esse quam videri**: Lahmeyer quotes Aeschyl. Sept. 574 οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει, and Sall. Cat. 54, 5 *esse quam videri bonus malebat.* —— **vanam**: here = 'false'; so κενός. —— **laudum suarum**: 'of their own merits'; so Arch. 31 *aeternum se testimonium laudis daturum esse profitetur.* For *laus*, meaning not praise but that which deserves it, cf. Verg. Aen. 5, 355 *primam merui qui laude coronam.* —— **nulla est**: cf. 86 *vitam esse nullam.* —— **verum audire non volt**: cf. 90. —— **essent**: the subject of this verb is unexpressed = *ei quibus parasiti assentantur.* —— **milites gloriosi**: like the well-known *miles gloriosus* of Plautus, and Thraso in Terence's Eunuchus, from which the line that follows is taken (3, 1, 1 or l. 391). Thraso has sent by his parasite Gnatho a present to Thais, and is listening to Gnatho's report of the manner in which she received the present. —— **magnas agere**: the line in Terence is really not in the form of a question but of an exclamation: 'to think that, etc.' The remark of Gnatho is therefore not the answer to a question, as Cicero supposes, but is a correction of the word *magnas*: 'great? you ought to have said enormous'. —— **volt esse**: n. on 29 *volunt.*

P. 37. — 99. **nec facillime**: litotes, euphemistic for *difficillime*; so De Or. 1, 115 *non optima*; ib. 2, 7 *non doctissimum.* —— **det manus**: 'gives in': from the signal used in asking for quarter on the field of battle. Sometimes *tollere manus* (ἀνασείειν τὰς χεῖρας) is used for *dare manus.* Seyffert quotes Att. 2, 22, 2 *aiebat illum primo sane diu multa contra, ad extremum autem manus dedisse et affirmasse nihil se contra eius voluntatem esse facturum*; Caes. B. G. 5, 31, 3. —— **plus vidisse**: 'to have been more farsighted'. Cicero often uses (especially in the letters) this and similar phrases, as *nihil, multum, plurimum, parum, tantum videre* (sometimes *sapere*). Cf. Phil. 2, 39 *cum*

me vidisse plus fateretur. —— **magis**: 'all the more', *i. e.* because *illudi* is *turpe.* —— **ut**: the expression is elliptic = *num credibile est ut.* —— **comicos senes**: 'old men in comedy'. For *comicos stultos* cf. n. on 30 *multae et magnae.* Cf. C. M. 36 and nn. The lines are by *Caecilius Statius* (about B.C. 219-166). For the metre see C. M. 25 and nn. —— **illusseris**: in Latin down to Cicero's time *ss* was often written after a long vowel. Quint. 1, 7, 20 instances *caussa, cassus, divissiones.* —— **lautissime**: 'most richly'; cf. our expression 'a rich joke'.

100. in fabulis...senum: in nearly every Latin comedy there is a young man who, by the aid of a clever slave, cheats his father out of a sum of money. —— **sapientia**: cf. closely 18, 38. —— **in hominem cadere**: 'to fall within a man's province'; cf. 48, also Tusc. 5, 28 *quos dicam bonos perspicuum est; omnibus enim virtutibus instructos et ornatos tum sapientis tum viros bonos dicimus.* —— **levis**: = *volgaris* in 76, *communibus* in 77. —— **ad illa prima**: see 18.

(5) *Conclusion.* §§ 100–104.

conciliat...conservat: so 20 *virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet.* —— **convenientia rerum**: = *consensio omnium rerum* in 20. —— **stabilitas...constantia**: see 62, 65. —— **quae**: *virtus*, not *constantia.* —— **lumen**: so in 27 *lumen aliquod probitatis et virtutis.* —— **agnovit in alio**: see 48 *seq.* —— **admovet**: so 32 *applicant sese et propius admovent;* cf. 48. —— **amor...amicitia**: cf. 26. Aristotle distinguishes φίλησις and φιλία (Eth. Nic. 8, 5, 5 and elsewhere) but his φιλία includes both *amicitia* and *amor*, his φίλησις being that lower degree of affection which may be felt for the brute creation or for things inanimate. —— **nulla indigentia**: this is shown in 26, 27, 29, 46. —— **quaesita**: goes only with *utilitate.* —— **ipsa ecflorescit**: this is stated repeatedly elsewhere in the dialogue; cf. 30–32, 51. —— **ecflorescit**: a favorite metaphor with Cicero, as in De Or. 1, 20 *ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio;* also ib. 2, 319; Fin. 1, 69. The form of the preposition *ec* for *ex* is well attested in compounds by both MSS. and inscriptions. It was probably somewhat old-fashioned in Cicero's time.

101. Paulum: n. on 21. —— **Catonem**: the old censor. —— **Gallum**: n. on 21. —— **P. Nasicam**: surnamed *Corculum*, and father of Nasica Serapio mentioned in 41. This Nasica was son-in-law of the

elder Africanus; was consul in 162 and 155, censor in 159. —— **Ti. Gracchum**: father of the tribunes; also son-in-law of the elder Africanus; father-in-law of the younger Africanus; as praetor won victories over the Celtiberi in 179; was consul in 177 and conquered Sardinia; censor in 169. Cicero often contrasts him with his sons, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. —— **Scipionem** etc.: see Introd. to Cato Maior, pp. xxi.-xxiii.

P. 38. — **in caritate acquiescimus**: so 22 *vita ... conquiescit.* —— **Q. Tuberonis**: n. on 37. —— **P. Rutili**: this P. Rutilius Rufus was a pupil of Panaetius (Off. 3, 10; Brut. 114, 116, 118) and studied law under P. Mucius Scaevola the consul of 133 B.C. He served as military tribune under Scipio before Numantia, and as *legatus* under Metellus Numidicus in the war against Iugurtha (Sall. Iug. 50). In 105 he was consul; in 100 was among the opponents of Saturninus; in the same year accompanied Q. Mucius Scaevola (*pontifex*) to Asia, which he governed himself for some time after Scaevola's departure. The severe integrity and purity of his government gave offence to the *publicani*, and on his return to Rome he was unjustly arraigned for extortion and condemned, whereupon he went into exile at Smyrna, from which he declined to return, though Sulla offered to reinstate him (pro Balbo § 28). Cicero De Or. 1, 229 calls him *exemplum innocentiae quo nemo neque integrior fuerit in civitate neque sanctior;* Vell. Pat. 2, 13, 2 *vir non saeculi sui sed omnis aevi optimus.* —— **A. Vergini**: mentioned by Pomponius Dig. 1, 2, 40, along with Rutilius, as being a good lawyer. Nothing else is known of him. —— **carceribus ... calcem**: *carceres* are properly the enclosures in which the chariots are kept while awaiting the start. *Calx* was a chalked line marking the goal (Seneca Ep. 108, 32 *hanc quam nunc in circo cretam vocamus, calcem antiqua dicebant*); it is the *linea* of Horace in '*mors ultima linea rerum est*' (Greek γραμμή). With this passage cf. C. M. 83 *nec vero* etc.

102. res humanae: 'human possessions'; cf. 17 *ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis.* —— **fragiles caducaeque**: 20 *caduca et incerta.* —— **omnis ... iucunditas**: cf. 47 *solem e mundo tollere videntur ei qui amicitiam e vita tollunt.* —— **mihi**: 'for me', 'in my view'; cf. *sibi* in 11. —— **vivit ... vivet**: cf. 13. —— **in manibus habui**: 'had at hand'. A somewhat different use from that in 96. Cf. Caes. B. G. 2, 19, 7 *in manibus nostris hostes viderentur.*

103. fortuna aut natura: the distinction between good things

given by fortune and good things given by nature is involved in 20, 22. —— **de re publica**: but in 20 *consensio* is followed by the genitive instead of the ablative with *de*. So here *rerum consilium* = *de rebus*. —— **plena**: Cic. generally uses *plenus* with the genitive, not the ablative. —— **numquam ... ne quidem**: cf. nn. on 48 *non ... repudientur*; 10 *cave* etc. —— **senserim**: the subjunctive is used to express a limitation or restriction. Roby, 1692; G. 629, Rem.; H. 503, I. n. 1. —— **isque**: cf. n. on 4 *et eorum*. —— **militia**: with this whole passage cf. 15 *Scipione ... communis*. —— **peregrinationes**: we hear much of Scipio's travels (Rep. 6, 11; Acad. 2, 5) but it is only here mentioned that Laelius accompanied him. —— **rusticationes**: cf. De Or. 2, 22 *Laelium semper fere cum Scipione solitum rusticari eosque incredibiliter repuerascere esse solitos cum rus ex urbe tamquam e vinclis evolavissent.*

104. nam: n. on 45. —— **de studiis etc.**: in 86 *cognitio* and *doctrina* come together as *cognoscendi* and *discendi* do here. —— **recordatio et memoria**: these two words frequently come together thus, as in Tusc. 5, 88; Brut. 9; De Or. 1, 228; Tac. Dial. 1 and in De Or. 1, 4 even *memoriae recordatio. Memoria* indicates the fact that a past event is present to the mind; *recordatio* properly means the act or process of summoning back past impressions; *cogitatio* is substituted for it below — *cogitatione et memoria*. —— **possem**: the imperfect gives the sense 'I should not now be able'.

P. 89. — **nec ... et**: see n. on 75. —— **alunturque potius**: the *que* is corrective as in the common phrase *potiusque*, 'or rather'. For *aluntur* 'are strengthened', cf. De Or. 2, 123 *si hunc oratorem quem nunc fingo, ut institui, crearo, aluero, confirmaro*; Tusc. 1, 4 *honos alit artis*; Vell. Pat. 1, 17, 6 *alit aemulatio ingenia*. —— **essem ... affert**: for the indicative in the apodosis, though the subjunctive is in the protasis, cf. n. on 29 *est* etc. —— **aetas ipsa**: 'the mere lapse of time'; cf. 19 *natura ipsa*. —— **brevia tolerabilia**: cf. the maxim of Epicurus, Fin. 1, 40 *dolor in longinquitate levis, in gravitate brevis*; ib. 2, 94 *magnum dolorem brevem, longinquum levem*. —— **haec habui etc.**: so Cicero makes Cato conclude in the Cato Maior 85. —— **hortor**: cf. 17 *ego ... anteponatis*. —— **ita ... locetis**: cf. 40 *eo loco locati*.

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